

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Paris, Monday, November 7, 1994

No. 34,739



Bosnian government forces pressing their assault Sunday on Serbian troops near the city of Kupres, one of several successful drives by the Muslim-led army.

Bosnian Serbs: In Retreat, or Just Regrouping?

By Roger Cohen
New York Times Service

ZAGREB, Croatia — A long stalemate in the Bosnian war has abruptly given way to a flurry of victories by Muslim-led government forces that pose a central question: Is the Bosnian Serbian Army on the run?

The question would have been unthinkable two weeks ago, when the superiority of the Bosnian Serbs in artillery, tanks and military organization seemed as impregnable as throughout the previously one-sided war over the last 31 months.

But the Bosnian Serbian defeats on several fronts, their wholesale abandonment of heavy weapons and strategic high ground, and their lack of any coherent response all suggest a crisis, although one that may still be overcome or at least quickly contained.

All the indications are of some disarray and a serious morale problem, a U.S. military analyst said. "The Bosnian Serbs have never seemed so politically, economically, psychologically and militarily vulnerable."

The signs of this vulnerability have multiplied recently. On all the fronts where they have lost ground over the past week — Bihac in the northwest, Kupres in the southwest and Trnovo southeast of Sarajevo — the Bosnian Serbs have abandoned tanks and artillery as if fleeing in haste. At least five tanks appear to have been lost.

Bosnian Serbian refugees from the government offensive east of Bihac said the soldiers nominally protecting them turned and ran as soon as the front line was pierced by a commando raid of Muslim troops.

Recent United Nations visitors to the Bosnian Serbian capital in Pale found what they described as an atmosphere of confusion and nervousness, with ragged and unmotivated soldiers increasingly in evidence.

The reasons for sagging morale appear clear. For more than two years, a dwindling number of Bosnian Serbs have been defending a very long and largely static front line, which is bleak work at the best of times.

Then, three months ago, the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, imposed a blockade on his former Serbian allies in Bosnia, sharply curtailing crucial fuel supplies for troop rotation and calling into question the basic motivation for the Bosnian Serbian struggle.

Mr. Milosevic had been angered by the refusal of Bosnian Serbian leader, Radovan Karadzic, to accept an international peace plan dividing Bosnia roughly in half.

Mr. Karadzic now vows a total mobilization for all-out war. But military analysts say they believe that the time for a counterattack of any magnitude is limited by the imminent onset of winter.

Most international estimates give the Bosnian Serbs about 350 tanks against about 65 for the Bosnian government forces, as well as a comfortable advantage in artillery. But the Bosnian Serbs are overwhelmingly outnumbered by a more motivated Muslim-led infantry that has now received basic weaponry and training.

Without infantry in sufficient numbers, the Bosnian Serbs seem incapable of outright victory or even a major breakthrough, like cutting off the northern town of Tuzla by punching through from the Vlasenica area to the Ozren heights, most analysts say. Quite simply, they do not have the men to hold the ground.

In addition, any Bosnian Serbian move against the vulnerable eastern Muslim enclaves, against Bihac town or against Sarajevo itself risks a response from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization because all these places were declared "safe zones" by the United Nations at a time when the Bosnian conflict was not so much war as a campaign of Bosnian Serbian terror.

A crucial factor for the Bosnian Serbs in the coming weeks will be the degree to which the cooperation between Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Muslim forces that emerged for the first time in the capture of Kupres carries over into other areas. If the Croats and Muslims continue working together, their momentum could be overwhelming, military analysts say.

According to the 1991 census, Kupres had a population of 4,895 Serbs, 3,827 Croats and 811 Muslims. But the surrounding region was largely Croatian. Croatian military leaders have in the past made it clear that they will fight alongside the Muslims in areas only with large Croatian populations.

This principle probably remains in force. But the way to the capture of Kupres by the Croatian Defense Council, the army of the Bosnian Croats, was opened by a bombardment from Bosnian government forces. Thus the Croats have a debt to the Muslims.

NATO Takes to the Air Over Sarajevo

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Warplanes from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization buzzed Sarajevo on Sunday in a show of force to halt an escalating battle between Bosnian Army and Serbian forces that threatened to reignite all-out war in the city.

Tensions calmed later Sunday, and there were no further NATO flights. Shelling was reported Sunday near the northwestern town of Bosanska Krupa, where the Muslim-led Bosnian Army is trying to dislodge the Bosnian Serbs.

Government forces have been attacking the town since launching an offensive last month, forcing Serbs to retreat in northwest and central Bosnia and taking 250 square kilometers (95 square miles) of territory in the Bihac pocket alone.

The Muslim assault severely stretched Serbian manpower and hampered the movement of their armor, forcing them to yield large amounts of territory.

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(AP, Reuters)

Yeltsin, the Autocratic Compromiser

By Steven Erlanger
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Russia lost one weak finance minister recently but gained another, causing a deputy prime minister to resign in protest.

But Saturday the government's strongest market-minded reformer, Anatoli B. Chubais, was elevated to first deputy prime minister, while the prime minister promised to continue a tough fight against inflation.

Does all this Kremlin maneuvering matter? It does, of course, especially for the economy, and for the level of confidence of those who are thinking about lending or investing in Russia.

The shifts also show the nature of politics in the new Russia, which is nearly as autocratic as the old Soviet Union. But the job changes last week, including the dismissal of a deputy defense minister after accusations of corruption, also show the growth of other checks on executive power.

The latest round of changes began on Oct. 11, which has come to be known here as "Black Tuesday." Through accident, incompetence and profit-taking by banks and money managers, the ruble lost more than 25 percent of its value in a day.

President Boris N. Yeltsin called for an investigation by the Russian national security council, which reports to him, not Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin.

Then, in a style more reminiscent of the old Soviet leadership, even before any investigation, Mr. Yeltsin dismissed the acting finance minister, Sergei V. Dubinin, and demanded that Parliament also replace the Central Bank chairman, Viktor V. Gerashchenko.

Mr. Gerashchenko, a conservative, was

to blame; Mr. Dubinin, an economic reformer, wasn't. But the dismissals were a sign of Mr. Yeltsin's efforts to keep a balance between conservatives and reformers.

So, before a confidence vote, which the government narrowly survived, Mr. Yeltsin appointed a Communist as agriculture minister to replace a liberal.

Mr. Yeltsin tried to do the same last week, nominating a tough technician at the Central Bank, Tatyana Paramonova, to replace Mr. Gerashchenko, and naming Vladimir G. Panskov, a Soviet-trained economist who once worked with the Parliament's budget committee, to take over from Mr. Dubinin.

But the Russian president did not count on the resignation in anger of Alexander

See RUSSIA, Page 4

South Koreans of 2 Minds On U.S. Deal With North

By Andrew Pollack
New York Times Service

SEOUL — Lee Jong Sik escaped from North Korea 45 years ago with her two young sons, leaving her husband and two brothers behind. Now, a new agreement aimed at curbing North Korea's suspected nuclear weapons program promises to ease tensions on the Korean Peninsula, offering hope for divided families. But Mrs. Lee is not counting on it.

"You just can't trust those people," said Mrs. Lee, 69, referring to the North Korean government. As for the chance of being reunited with her family, she said, "It will be almost impossible to meet them before I die."

Two weeks after the United States and North Korea signed an agreement in Geneva, South Korea is having trouble coming to grips with an accord that could force it to change how it deals with its longtime enemy.

In exchange for North Korea's giving up nuclear programs that could enable it to produce weapons, the United States will

relax trade restrictions and begin moving toward diplomatic recognition. The United States will also see that North Korea gets modern nuclear power plants and fuel oil, bolstering its tottering economy.

Such moves are putting pressure on South Korea to follow the American lead and expand business and diplomatic relations with the North. The government here is considering relaxing rules that inhibit South Korean companies from doing business in the North.

"We are moving from a containment policy to an engagement policy," said Park Jin, press secretary for international affairs to the South Korean president, Kim Young Sam.

But a single treaty cannot erase four decades of hostility overnight. South Korea remains deeply distrustful of North Korea's intentions, and there is resistance within the government to letting down the nation's guard. In a blistering speech in the National Assembly last week, Ro Jai Bong, a conservative legislator and former prime

See KOREA, Page 4

White House Looks Ahead And Fears 2 Tough Years

By R. W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The White House started looking beyond Election Day weeks ago, and President Bill Clinton's aides, deeply troubled by what they foresee, have been debating ever since what their strategy for 1995 should be.

"Tuesday will be bad," one of Mr. Clinton's top advisers said. "We will

NEWS ANALYSIS

lose a lot of ground. Wednesday will be almost pleasant. People will wake up to the fact that we have done better than we might have and better than a lot of people predicted. At least, we hope so. But Thursday will be terrible because everyone will begin to realize what a really difficult two years lie ahead."

Of course, even that less-than-rosy view may prove too optimistic. The Republicans may well take control of one or both houses of Congress, rather than simply emerging with strongly enhanced minority positions in a Senate and a House that are still controlled, at least on paper, by the Democrats.

In any event, two possible approaches suggest themselves. The president can either plow straight ahead, pushing once more for comprehensive changes in health care and welfare, among other things, knowing that he will not succeed but hoping to lay the basis for a 1996 campaign focused on congressional refusal to pass his program. Or he can try to work out a deal with the Republicans.

By nature, Mr. Clinton is a compromiser — some say too much of a compromiser. On the day last summer when he finally secured passage of the crime bill and simultaneously concluded that he was unlikely to get anywhere on health care, he told a quartet of reporters in the garden off the Oval Office that the biggest disappointment of his term had been his failure to develop a spirit of bipartisanship with the Republicans.

This time, the president could choose to announce (or decide without announcing) that as a result of the midterm elections, he intends to re-emphasize the centrist New Democratic agenda that he ran on in 1992, then lost sight of, to some degree, in the pitched legislative and political battles of 1993 and 1994.

Senator John B. Breaux of Louisiana is only one of the moderate Democrats who have been urging Mr. Clinton

See 1995, Page 4

Republicans Scent Victory In Crucial Senate Races

Claiming Momentum, Democrats Accuse Foes Of 'Snake Oil' Politics

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Republican leaders predicted Sunday that their party would recapture control of the Senate in Tuesday's pivotal U.S. elections and pursue a conservative agenda to revise the way Congress operates and force lawmakers to balance the federal budget.

Senator Phil Gramm, Republican of Texas, who is spearheading his party's drive to take control of the 100-member Senate, flatly predicted victory.

"We're going to win somewhere between 7 and 12 seats, depending on how strong the tide is," Mr. Gramm said in a broadcast interview. The Democratic Party currently holds a 56-to-44 edge in the Senate, and 35 seats are at stake.

Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader in the Senate, was only slightly less enthusiastic, predicting in a nationally broadcast interview that his party had a better-than-even chance of capturing the Senate for the first time since 1980. He said Republicans could come within four or five seats of taking over the House, where Democrats effectively hold a 257-to-178 edge.

White House officials, including Vice President Al Gore and the chief of staff, Leon E. Panetta, likened the election year to 1948, when President Harry Truman defied predictions of a Republican victory. Mr. Panetta accused Mr. Gramm of selling "snake oil" and "voodoo" to the American people and declared: "By no means are we going to lose the numbers Phil Gramm is predicting."

"The momentum," Mr. Gore said, "is with Democratic candidates."

Independent analysts suggest that the level of voter turnout will make the difference in the many close races for the Senate, the House and the governorships. If turnout is high, Democrats would most likely benefit and avoid a Republican comeback. But recent surveys suggest that Republicans are more motivated this year than Democrats to go to the polls.

President Bill Clinton's personal standing remains shaky among voters, and a majority tell pollsters of a profound unhappiness with politics and government. Thus, this midterm election will almost certainly do the most damage to the Democrats, who represent the majority of incumbents.

Analysts agree that, whatever the outcome, the election will be a

See VOTE, Page 4

Republicans seem poised to get a Senate majority, a final poll shows. Page 3.



With one historic punch, George Foreman, 45, regained the heavyweight title he lost 20 years ago to Muhammad Ali.

Foreman Strikes a Blow for Middle Age

By William Gildea
Washington Post Service

LAS VEGAS — Maybe only George Foreman himself really believed what he said. Foreman predicted — again and again — that, at the unheard of boxing age of 45, he could become heavyweight boxing champion of the world once more, 20 years after he lost the title to Muhammad Ali in Zaire.

What's more, who could possibly have believed in Foreman as he fell behind Michael Moorer, the champion, on all three judges' scorecards through nine rounds in the MGM Grand Garden? Nine more minutes and Foreman would be history.

Instead, he made history on Saturday night, becoming the oldest world heavyweight champion — surpassing Jersey

Joe Walcott's reign at the age of 37 in 1951 — and the oldest to win a title in any weight class.

Like a thunderclap, a bolt from the desert night, Foreman caught the champion — 19 years his junior — with a right hand. It seemed at first like a desperate last stand. But it turned out to be one of the most glorious and improbable moments in sports. A crowd of 12,127 that had hoped, even prayed for the underdog, erupted with a wave of joy.

That right hand was the beginning of the end of Moorer's short reign and the crowning achievement for Foreman — the hamburger and muffler salesman on television, actor, ringside commentator, Houston preacher and father of four sons, all named George.

It was a triumph, as he said, for the

middle-aged and for senior citizens, as well. With a left jab followed by a marvelous straight right, Foreman knocked out Moorer at 2:03 of the 10th round, handing him his first loss in 36 professional fights.

"This was for all my buddies in the nursing home and all the guys in the jail," said Foreman, who claimed the World Boxing Association and International Boxing Federation titles. "Always remember that song, when you wish upon a star it doesn't matter who you are, anything your heart desires can come true for you. Don't give up on your dreams."

He could have given up. The left-handed Moorer, the much quicker fight-

See CHAMP, Page 4

Klosk

Paris Title Lifts Agassi to No. 2

PARIS — Andre Agassi of the United States climbed to No. 2 in the world tennis rankings with a 6-3, 6-3, 4-6, 7-5 victory Sunday over Marc Rosset of Switzerland in the final of the Paris Open. It was Agassi's fifth title of the year, which he began ranked No. 32. Since early September, he has won the U.S. Open and the Vienna and Paris events. (Page 17)

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Page 5.

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Italy...L. 1.200 Lira Turkey...T.L. 35.000
Jordan...J.D. 1.000 U.A.E...8.50 Dirh
Lebanon...L.L. 1.500 U.S. Mil. (Eur.) \$1.10

NATO Inching Toward East

U.S. Draws Up Guidelines, but No Deadlines

By Daniel Williams
and R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The United States is for the first time drawing up some minimum requirements for Eastern European countries to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, but Washington is still delaying key decisions on when the alliance would bring anyone in, and who it would be.

While Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and others are pressing hard to enter, the Clinton administration and its European allies worry that rapid NATO expansion would upset Russia.

Suspicious that the alliance's goal is to isolate it, Moscow opposes any eastward extension of NATO security guarantees.

President Bill Clinton and his national security adviser, W. Anthony Lake, are nonetheless said by senior officials and diplomats to favor moving more rapidly toward that goal as a way of damping European fears that a more nationalist Russia could pose a new security threat.

The new U.S. proposal, being readied for a NATO foreign ministers' meeting in December, represents a compromise between providing no further guidance to the Eastern European countries and providing clear criteria.

The one-size-fits-all formula is designed to give hope to eager NATO candidates, yet still placate Moscow by continuing to defer the political decision to admit someone.

The administration has depicted its new guidance as "precepts." An American official said the requirements included continued commitment to democracy, assured civilian control of the military and a readiness to contribute to the country's defense.

As described by U.S. officials, the precepts are rules meant to provide more concrete guidelines to NATO membership but, pointedly, do not guarantee it.

"Don't make too big a deal of what we're up to," a senior American official cautioned. "The near-term goal is to get the alliance to agree to begin a formal process, aimed at defining what it will take to expand. The potential new partners have to know what they must bring to the table."

Mr. Lake ordered the precepts developed because he and Mr. Clinton want at least to give the appearance that there is movement toward expansion, U.S. officials said.

Administration officials are sensitive to criticism that they are missing a historic moment to bind Eastern Europe to the West and to help redress abandonment of the region to Soviet rule after World War II.

Some U.S. government analysts have also forecast that Russia could turn more belligerent if there are nationalist gains in elections in late 1995 and 1996.

Critics, among them former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, assert that the most promising Eastern European

democracies — Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and perhaps the Slovak Republic — ought to be let into NATO for immediate protection.

But Germany and France, in particular, are hesitant to provoke an even greater right-wing upsurge in Russia, and also worry that letting some of these countries into NATO while leaving others outside it will forge a new political line of demarcation between East and West.

They prefer to see Central European military integration with NATO as an afterthought to its economic integration with the European Union.

Besides the Moscow factor, the go-slow approach reflects an unwillingness of Washington and its allies to take on new security commitments or provide significant funding for expansion.

Germany, despite occasional calls from top officials for expansion, is eager for neither a timetable nor criteria to be laid down. France is also not keen for NATO expansion.



PAPAL GREETING — Pope John Paul II acknowledging a crowd Sunday from the bishop's residence in Siracusa, where he dedicated a shrine. The Pope has used his three-day trip to Sicily to speak against violence and to encourage anti-Mafia sentiment.

WORLD BRIEFS

Anti-Apartheid Church Figure Slain

PRETORIA (AP) — An outspoken reformer who led the white Afrikaners' church away from apartheid and condemned racist policies has been shot and killed, the police said.

Johan Heyns, former head of the Dutch Reformed Church, died Saturday night when an unknown attacker fired a single rifle shot through a window of his home and hit him in the back of the head. Mr. Heyns, 66, had been playing cards with his wife and grandchildren, the police said. No one else was injured.

Mr. Heyns's church is the church of most Afrikaners, the descendants of Dutch settlers, and until the 1980s gave theological justification for the Afrikaner-led state's racial policies.

Israelis Reopen Shrine in Hebron

HEBRON, Israeli-Occupied West Bank (AP) — Israel's cabinet unanimously decided to reopen the Tomb of the Patriarchs on Monday, ending nine months of closure imposed after a Jewish settler shot and killed 29 Muslim worshippers there in February.

Both Palestinians and Jewish settlers criticized on Sunday the new arrangements by Israel's government, which assigns separate prayer areas at the holy site to Muslims and Jews for most of the year.

Hebron's mayor, Mustafa Natche, who visited the shrine, said that tensions remained high and that the "opening of the mosque will not solve the problem of violence." He said the Israeli plan for operating separate prayer halls at the site was an attempt to establish a permanent Jewish presence.

Iran Scuds Hit Rebel Camp in Iraq

BAGHDAD (Reuters) — Iran fired at least three Scud missiles across the border into Iraq on Sunday, striking a base used by exiled Mujahidin Khalq guerrillas. A Mujahidin spokesman said buildings were damaged but no one was hurt.

"Iraq reserves its full right of legitimate defense in the face of unjust Iranian aggression at the appropriate time and through suitable means," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The guerrilla camp at Ashraf is the main military base of the Mujahidin Khalq, who lost out to Muslim fundamentalists in Tehran street battles after the fall of the shah. The group later formed a small army under Baghdad's protection.

Election Violence Kills 4 in Sri Lanka

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka (AP) — A shoot-out between rival political groups and a bomb explosion at an election rally killed at least four people as campaigning for Sri Lanka's presidential election ended Sunday.

Violence has plagued the monthlong campaign for the vote Wednesday. The opposition party's presidential candidate, Gamini Dissanayake, was assassinated Oct. 24, and rival groups have repeatedly clashed over the past month.

One person was killed and 15 were wounded Sunday when a bomb exploded at an opposition United National Party meeting at Pannala village in central Sri Lanka. The assailants were not identified. On Saturday, a shoot-out between supporters of the governing People's Alliance and United National Party killed three people in Kegalle, 65 kilometers (40 miles) east of Colombo.

For the Record

Bernard Tapie, a leftist French politician, turned down pleas Sunday to run in the presidential election next year, and called for support for a broad-based candidate of the left. He said that for him to run would be a failure for his recently renamed Radical party. (AFP)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Italy Bans Raw Seafood Consumption

ROME (Reuters) — Health Minister Raffaele Costa ordered a 10-day ban as of Monday on the consumption of raw seafood after a cholera outbreak in southern Italy.

Ten cases of cholera have been confirmed in the southeastern region of Puglia, on Italy's heel. The virus has also been discovered in seafood in northern Italy.

"Considering the cases of cholera in Puglia and the traces of the cholera virus in a sample of cuttlefish from a supermarket in Piedmont, I feel it is my duty to forbid the consumption of all raw fish," Mr. Costa said in a statement.

Torrential rains in Egypt have damaged several of the most important Pharaonic tombs in the Valley of the Kings in the southern province of Luxor, said Mahmud Nureddin, head of the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities. (AFP)

The Eiffel Tower reopened Saturday after being shut for 32 hours by a strike of Paris employees demanding extra staff. (AFP)

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Bangladesh, Colombia, Russia, Tunisia.
TUESDAY: Russia.
WEDNESDAY: Nepal, Pakistan.
THURSDAY: Panama.
FRIDAY: Angola, Belgium, Bhutan, Canada, France, Monaco, Poland, Puerto Rico, Tahiti, United States.
SATURDAY: Bhutan, Taiwan. Sources: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

Kohl's Opposition Plots to Crack Majority

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

BONN — In Germany's complex political landscape, elections rarely settle anything for long.

The main result of the national vote on Oct. 16 was a war of nerves. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's opposition hopes that it will snap the brittle coalition between Mr. Kohl's Christian Democratic alliance and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's Free Democrats well before the end of the legislative term four years from now.

"We can crack this majority," said Oskar Fischer, a leader of the opposition Greens. But he and Rudolf Scharping, the Social Democrat who would probably become chancellor if

the coalition fell apart, expect it to take a while.

The election narrowed Mr. Kohl's majority in Parliament to only 10 seats, 341 to 331, and left Mr. Kinkel's party searching for a new identity in the midst of negotiations with its partners for a new government legislative program.

The Free Democrats, associated with small business, wanted Mr. Kohl to agree to cut taxes and spending, rethink expensive welfare benefits, and to put them in charge of a national program on research and technology. So far, they have been unable to get their partners even to agree on a cutoff date for a 7.5 percent tax surcharge that takes effect Jan. 1 to pay for the extra costs of unification.

The Free Democrats won 47 seats last month, down from the 79 they had held since 1990. But Mr. Kinkel considered even that result a victory of sorts after the party was shut out in seven state elections this year.

His biggest party rival, former Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann, who blamed Mr. Kinkel for the losing streak, was forced after the election to resign as head of the party's state organization in North Rhine-Westphalia.

With the Free Democrats in turmoil, some of Mr. Kohl's supporters worried that his 10-vote majority could easily crumble if Mr. Möllemann or other disgruntled coalition legislators decided to take a walk, or even to vote against him, when the new Parliament con-

venes in mid-November and elects the chancellor. He needs half the 672 votes plus one to win on the first ballot, but could eventually win with a simple plurality. No chancellor since World War II has ever had to squeak past in that way before.

But there is another question: What if the government majority were only two votes instead of 10? That, according to constitutional lawyers, hundreds of ordinary voters and the Greens party, is what it should have been if seats had been distributed in strict accordance with the proportion of the total won by each party.

German voters cast two ballots apiece, one for a party and one for a candidate in each electoral district.

Police Raid Neo-Nazis, 200 Seized in Stuttgart

The Associated Press

STUTTGART — Eight policemen were injured and nearly 200 people were arrested in a police raid on neo-Nazi meetings here, the police said Sunday.

The police said the raid was carried out at a restaurant Saturday, after the authorities found out that radical rightists from Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate states were meeting to found a new neo-Nazi organization.

A Baden-Württemberg police statement said that a 47-year-old man, the main organizer of the meeting, stabbed a policeman in the hand as he was being arrested.

Others then began throwing beer bottles and glasses, injuring eight policemen, who were cut on faces and hands, the statement said.

The police arrested 197 people, some of them women and youths. Most were released Sunday. Two leaders remain in investigative custody, the police said.

Neo-Nazi literature and emblems bearing the swastika were confiscated, they added.

French Synagogue Is Hit
Unidentified attackers ransacked a synagogue in a Paris suburb, daubing the initials of Algeria's outlawed Muslim fundamentalist movement, FIS, on the walls, Reuters reported Sunday from Paris.

The spokesman for the Jewish community in the working class suburb of Garches-les-Gonnesse told French radio that several rooms had been ransacked during the night but that nothing had been stolen.

Book Says Diana Foresees Remarriage and Children

The Associated Press

LONDON — Diana, Princess of Wales, is reluctant to initiate divorce proceedings against Prince Charles but hopes one day to remarry and have more children, The Sunday Times reported as it published extracts from a new book.

The newspaper said Andrew Morton, in his book, "Diana: Her New Life," writes that the princess is still battling the eating disorder bulimia nervosa and has an obsessive interest in astrology and clairvoyants.

The first installment of extracts from the book, which will be published Tuesday, do not detail all these points, but touch on her concerns for her young sons since Diana and Charles separated two years ago and on her indecision about where she will live.

Mr. Morton says some people "in her circle" feel that Diana still loves Charles, "believing that if he ate enough humble pie, he would take him back."

He quoted an unnamed friend who asked her that question, saying Diana replied, "I would be absolutely shaken and would forgive him."

Mr. Morton also says that Diana sees herself marrying a foreigner and that France appears repeatedly in her astrological prophecies as a future home and the birthplace of "the new man in her life."

Mr. Morton's earlier book, "Diana: Her True Story" in 1992, reporting the marriage breakdown and Diana's bulimia, quoted friends who are widely believed to have spoken with Diana's approval.

Italy, With 32 Deaths, Takes Brunt of Mediterranean Storms

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

ROME — The rains came and the riverbanks broke and by Sunday night northern Italy had counted at least 32 dead and more people missing in the fastest-rising floods in 81 years, caused by freak rain that pummeled southern Europe and North Africa with a deadly, sodden fist.

The worst was in the northwestern Italian region of Piedmont around the automaking city of Turin, where the torrents flowed unchecked through homes and across fields, bringing down the telephone and power lines, severing highways and buckling bridges.

The Po River burst its banks. So did the Tanaro River. Italian television said the death toll could rise to 100.

After a three-story house collapsed under a mudslide in

the town of San Raffaele Cimena, near Turin, rescuers pulled a 4-month-old baby girl from the wreckage, where the child had been sheltered for five hours by the dead body of her 29-year-old mother.

The church of a nearby convent also collapsed, sending 26 nuns fleeing for safety. "It was a terrible sight," an unidentified sister told the Italian news agency ANSA. "The ground we walked on had been washed away."

The tally of dead in northwestern Italy was part of a grim weekend in mainland southern France, the island of Corsica, Spain and Morocco, where 15 people were reported Sunday to have died in several days of flooding.

In France, the Var River turned into a torrent sweeping through the Riviera town of Nice. When it hit the airport, it poured through underground car parks, jumbling parked autos on top of each other, and flooded the runways. The airport was declared closed until Tuesday.

In the southern French region of Lorraine, mudslides had left many villages isolated. The official death toll in France was said to number five.

In Italy, the floods washed cars from bridges, spilled mud-

dily over farmland and left a swath of destruction.

It was the speed of the calamity that took people by surprise. Local officials said 61 centimeters (24 inches) of rain fell in two-and-a-half days in parts of Piedmont, leaving parts of one town, Asti, 50 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Turin, under 2.75 meters (9 feet) of water.

Maurizio Gasparri, a senior Interior Ministry official, said the downpours were the worst to hit Piedmont since 1913.

Elsewhere in Italy, cascading rain in Liguria touched off mudslides and floods that, in the port of Genoa, left hospital corridors awash with dirty water. Heavy rains were reported, too, in the Val d'Aosta to the north and in Naples and Sicily to the south.

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THE AMERICAS / THE CONSERVATIVE TILT

Republicans Could Eke Out Senate Takeover

By David S. Broder

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Republicans go into the election Tuesday with clear prospects of picking up enough seats to give them their first Senate majority in eight years and with almost as good a chance of taking over the House of Representatives for the first time since 1954, according to a final 50-state survey by The Washington Post.

Assuming that toss-up races divide evenly between the par-

ties, Republicans would have a 51-to-49 advantage in the new Senate, a gain of seven seats. A similar allocation of House seats too close to call would give the Republicans 214, four short of a majority but a 36-seat gain.

Late interviews with party officials, pollsters, campaign consultants and neutral observers in all 50 states suggest clearly that the voters' impatience with incumbents and the low approval ratings for President Bill Clinton and many of his congressional allies may tilt the

close races — like Virginia's toss-up contest between Senator Charles S. Robb, a Democrat, and Oliver L. North, a Republican, — toward the Republicans.

If Republicans were to win three-fourths of the toss-ups, for example, the Republican Senate majority might swell to 54 to 46 and Republicans might gain a 225-to-210 majority in the House.

A major caveat: With many of the closest contests in states and districts where no incum-

bent is on the ballot, and with some late polls showing one-fifth of the voters hedging their choices, forecasts may be worth even less than usual this year.

Democrats hope that with Mr. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore campaigning for candidates in critical states; with the recent economic news upbeat; and with approval for Mr. Clinton's foreign policy higher than it has been, the scale of their losses may be trimmed.

From Mr. Clinton on down, almost every Democrat has

spent much of the last two weeks trying to persuade the elderly, who turn out in disproportionate numbers in off-year elections, that a Republican victory will threaten their Social Security and Medicare benefits.

Winning the majority of the close races would permit the Democrats to maintain nominal control in the 104th Congress. But that Congress is clearly going to be more conservative than the last one, which in its final months blocked or weakened many of Mr. Clinton's major domestic initiatives.

Candidates campaigning for lower taxes and smaller government are doing well, even in liberal states like Maryland and Washington.

Democratic operatives in New Jersey, Michigan, Texas and Washington, among other places, report that they see more Republican lawn signs than usual and more door-to-door canvassing by Republican volunteers. The difference in enthusiasm between the parties is even more pronounced in the South and in the Rockies and Southwest, where anti-Clinton sentiment is strongest.

In addition, there is clear evidence that nominally nonpartisan groups, especially the Christian Coalition and the National Rifle Association, allied with conservative candidates and mobilized by the political and legislative setbacks of the last two years, are likely to be a more powerful force in this election than ever before.

Representative Mike Synar, Democrat of Oklahoma, who was defeated in a primary upset after being targeted by term-limits supporters and conservative Christian groups, said he has warned Democratic colleagues to "expect a 4 or 5 percent worse vote than your polls show" in districts where these organizations are active.



Newt Gingrich, right, with Tom Brokaw of NBC-TV, in Roswell, Georgia. Mr. Gingrich will very likely be speaker of the House if Republicans take control and he is re-elected.

Q&A: 'Cynicism Industry' and the Voters

Fiercely contested elections for Congress, where the Democratic Party controls both houses, take place Tuesday. The impact on President Bill Clinton could be profound. Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies for the Brookings Institution in Washington, surveyed the political landscape with Paul F. Horvitz of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. What is the mood of the American voter?

A. The mood is as sour as I have ever seen it. People are unbelievably cynical, skeptical and grumpy, if not intensely angry. Some of this reflects objective economic conditions whereby a rather robust recovery and the appearance of four and a half million new jobs has not been accompanied by real wage gains by a lot of Americans. Those with a high school education or less have seen their real wages decline by 20 percent over the last 12 years or so.

That's the backdrop. But the more important factor here is, frankly, that there is a cynicism industry in America. Modern campaigns are intensely negative about personal character. The strategies pursued by incumbent members of Congress and by the Republican Party, to so diminish the institution of Congress to advance their own personal interest, and the increasingly contemptuous, cynical coverage of national political institutions and elected officials by the mass media, have all created what I think is a somewhat contrived and artificial public anger. The reality is that people are a lot happier with their private personal cir-

cumstances than they are with the society as a whole or the government.

These attitudes have an impact. They delegitimize government. They make the public less willing to differentiate, to hold accountable individuals for their actions and more inclined to buy into simple solutions and vent their anger rather than to apply their energies to try to improve the situation.

We are caught in a cycle here where politicians tell people what they want to hear and people lash out at politicians.

Q. Why are these U.S. mid-term elections significant?

A. Midterm elections invariably weaken new presidents. One of the eternal verities of American politics is that the president's party loses congressional seats midterm. What's unusual about 1994 is the possibility of the president losing formal control of the Senate and possibly even of the House of Representatives. The Republicans have been in the minority in the House for 40 years, so for them to catapult into the majority or close to it after Clinton has been in office only two years would be a political event of major importance.

Q. Are the elections a referendum on Congress as an institution or on the Clinton presidency or both?

A. Elections for the House and Senate are most importantly a reflection of local political party strength, of the personal attractiveness of the incumbent and the challenger, and of the interest among voters in turning out on Election Day. But there's also a national dimension. They are partly a referendum on the president and his performance. To a less-

er extent, they are a referendum on Congress as an institution.

Q. Is there an expectations game being played in which the perceived outcome will depend on how people judge or assess the results?

A. There's been a fascinating expectations game going on. Frankly, I think the underlying structural factors, including the growing Republican strength in the South, the large number of open seats, the voters' more general disdain for anything associated with professional politicians, will virtually guarantee a strong Republican showing. What we don't know is whether it will be strong enough to allow the Republicans to take formal control of one or both houses of Congress or only enough to put them in a position to drive President Clinton mad.

Q. Do you subscribe to the notion that regardless of the outcome, the new Congress is likely to be locked in an even more intense partisan battle?

A. Certainly the ingredients for intense partisanship and ideological polarization will be there. But whether it develops depends in part upon the strategies pursued by President Clinton. There are, after all, some pragmatic if not moderate Republicans in both the Senate and the House who will be uncomfortable with the hard-right opposition strategy throughout the two years of the next Congress. If the president reaches out to them, if he indicates clearly his desire to govern from the center on a bipartisan basis, he may be able to defuse some of this partisanship and polarization.

Reagan Suffering From Alzheimer's Disease

By Al Kamen

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Former President Ronald Reagan, in a letter to the American people, has announced that his doctors have told him he is suffering from the early stages of Alzheimer's disease, an incurable brain disorder.

An accompanying statement by five of his doctors said the disease was detected during yearly testing.

"Over the past 12 months, we began to notice from President Reagan's test results symptoms indicating the possibility of early stage Alzheimer's disease," the doctors said. "Additional testing and an extensive observation over the past weeks have led us to conclude that President Reagan is entering the early stages of this disease."

Mr. Reagan's health, they said, was "otherwise good," but "it is expected that as the years

go on it will begin to deteriorate."

Friends had noted that Mr. Reagan, 83, was conspicuously absent last month at a conference at the Reagan Library in California, and he had not appeared at various events in recent weeks. Several people who saw him in April at the funeral of former President Richard Nixon said at the time that he appeared to be in declining health.

Mr. Reagan's spokeswoman, Catherine Busch, said Mr. Reagan was at an undisclosed location with his wife.

Alzheimer's disease is a progressive and irreversible neurological disorder. Symptoms include memory loss, impairment of judgment, disorientation and personality change. Mr. Reagan's mother, Nelle, who died at age 77, also apparently suffered from Alzheimer's.

During his presidency, Mr.

Reagan at times seemed to have difficulty talking directly about some of his medical ills. In 1985, after he was operated on for colon cancer, he never actually said he had the disease, but rather that "I had something inside of me that had cancer in it, and it was removed."

Two weeks later, an operation to remove a basal cell skin cancer from his nose touched off a battle with reporters at the White House because the administration did not report the operation until two days later, and did not at first say that it involved skin cancer.

But in his letter Saturday, Mr. Reagan said he and his wife, Nancy, had decided to reveal the early diagnosis in the hopes of promoting a greater awareness of the disease.

"Unfortunately," he said, "as Alzheimer's disease progresses, the family often bears a heavy burden. I only wish there was

some way I could spare Nancy from this painful experience. When the time comes, I am confident that with your help she will face it with faith and courage."

"In the past, Nancy suffered from breast cancer, and I had my cancer surgery," he said. "We found through open disclosures we were able to raise public awareness. We were happy that as a result many more people underwent testing. They were treated in early stages and able to return to normal, healthy lives."

Mr. Reagan said he intended to "live the remainder of the years God gives me on this Earth doing the things I have always done."

"I will continue to share life's journey with my beloved Nancy and my family," he said.

He thanked the American people for electing him president.

"When the Lord calls me home, whenever that may be, I will leave with the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for its future," he said. "I now begin the journey that will lead me into the sunset of my life. I know that for America there will always be a bright dawn ahead."

Although at nearly 70 he was the oldest elected president, Mr. Reagan was always projected as energetic. White House photographs showing him active at his ranch riding horses or chopping wood.

A former actor who was called the Great Communicator for his effective use of television, Mr. Reagan used his affability and sense of humor to deflect concerns during his reelection campaign in 1984 that he was too old to be president.

"I will not make an issue in this campaign," he said during a debate with a Democratic candidate, Walter Mondale. "I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponent's youth and inexperience." The line brought down the house and ended the discussion.

As president, Mr. Reagan was severely wounded in a 1981 assassination attempt. A few months after his reelection, Mr. Reagan had 24 inches (61 centimeters) of his colon removed along with a cancerous growth. He underwent surgery for skin cancer three times.

In July 1989 he was thrown from a horse and required an operation to remove a pool of blood from his brain.

It's Official: Feinstein Worker Was Illegal

By B. Drummond Ayres Jr.

New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Clearing the official record but further muddying the political scene, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has reported that a Guatemalan housekeeper employed by Senator Dianne Feinstein in the early 1980s was in the country illegally.

INS officials said a search of the records of the housekeeper, Annabella del Rosario LeGrand-Cabrera Realegeno, showed that during much, if not all, of the two years that she worked for Ms. Feinstein, she held no visa or work permit.

"Our records indicate that she was not legally entitled to be in the United States back then," said Don Mueller, an INS spokesman. "She had a visa to work for the Guatemalan Consulate in San Francisco that ran out on Nov. 16, 1980, and the next time she appears in our records is on July 31, 1983, when she surfaces and leaves the country voluntarily."

The senator, a Democrat who has staked a good part of her reelection battle with Representative Michael Huffington on an insistence that she never employed an illegal alien, said in response to the disclosure that she had done nothing wrong.

Ms. Realegeno, Ms. Feinstein said, had presented what appeared to be proper immigration documents at the time she was hired. And in any event, she said, the woman was hired in 1980, six years before Congress passed a law prohibiting the

employment of undocumented workers.

"The person in question handed me documentation," Ms. Feinstein said while campaigning in Sacramento. "It looked verifiable to me, and I hired her. She worked for me for two years."

Ms. Realegeno also insisted that she had presented proper

documentation when she was hired to work for Ms. Feinstein, then the mayor of San Francisco.

"I was legal," said Ms. Realegeno, who since has returned legally to the United States and now works in another San Francisco household.

Mr. Huffington, politically buffeted himself by a disclosure

that he employed an undocumented Guatemalan nanny for five years, called Ms. Feinstein "a liar."

Mr. Huffington is a staunch supporter of stronger immigration controls, which is not only the current local point of the Feinstein-Huffington race but also the hottest issue in California politics in general this fall.

1994, the Year of On-Line Democracy

New York Times Service

The Internet and other spurs of the "information superhighway" have emerged as powerful new links between politicians and voters in this election year, adding forums for debate by the candidates, nearly instant voting results and vast pools of background information for local, state and national races.

The idea of electronic democracy has spread to nearly every state along with the rapid expansion of the Internet and a variety of on-line information services and electronic bulletin boards, which are used by more than 5 million Americans.

Mindful of this growing constituency, technically savvy politicians are getting electronic mail addresses; cities and states are setting up information servers and beginning to offer gov-

ernment services electronically; civic organizations are exploring ways to provide free or low-cost computer access to average citizens, not just the technological elite.

"As more and more people cruise the superhighway, the Internet will become a crucial platform for the political debate," said Will Shetterly, the Grassroots Party candidate for

governor of Minnesota. The state's five top candidates for governor and the three leading candidates for the U.S. Senate participated in electronic debates via electronic mail.

For Mr. Shetterly, who was not invited to take part in televised debates and who does not have the money for advertising, the Internet is a potentially great equalizer.

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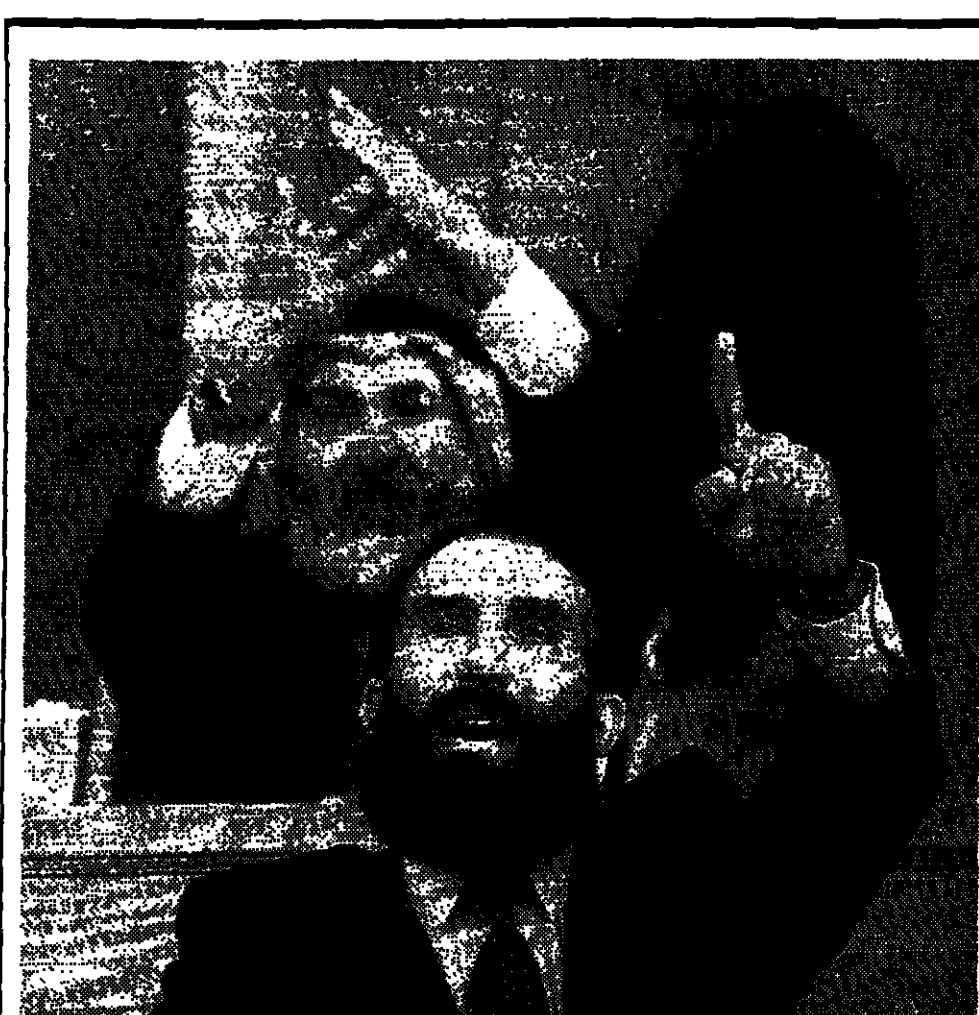
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Two Islamic Action Front deputies protesting during the treaty debate in Amman.

Jordanians Ratify Pact With Israel

The Associated Press

AMMAN, Jordan — Parliament ratified the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel on Sunday despite opposition from Muslim fundamentalists and leftists. The approval clears the way for full diplomatic relations.

The vote in the 80-member Chamber of Deputies was 55 to 23 with one abstention. One lawmaker did not attend the session. The treaty, signed by the prime ministers of Jordan and Israel on Oct. 26, now goes to the 40-member Senate, appointed by King Hussein. The monarch also must sign it into law. The vote Sunday came after Prime Minister

Abdul-Salam Majali told the Chamber of Deputies, or lower house, that the treaty restored Jordan's territorial and water rights and paved the way for revitalizing Jordan's economy.

Mr. Majali also said the accord allowed Jordan a central role in regional politics after four years of isolation caused by its pro-Iraq tilt during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis.

During the ratification debate, Muslim fundamentalist and leftist deputies assailed the treaty as undermining Arab rights in Muslim lands and shrines in the Israeli-occupied territories.

For Mother, 'World Was Falling Apart'

In Desperation She Thought of Suicide, Then Killed Her 2 Sons

By Barbara Vobejda and Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNION, South Carolina — In the hours before her children died, Susan Smith drove along the deserted country roads near this small town, her two boys strapped in their car seats in the back.

The police have said she was desperate, contemplating suicide and distraught over what she felt was a life collapsing around her. Her marriage was dissolving; a boyfriend had ended their relationship, in part because of her children, and she was worried about money, the police said.

Ultimately, she could not take her own life. But she has admitted that she found her way to an isolated lake and sent her car into the water with her sons Michael, 3, and Alexander, 14 months, still in the back seat.

Her confession came after a nine-day hunt for the kidnapper that she claimed had driven off with her boys.

"Every part of her world was falling apart, and one thing led to another," a police source said. "There doesn't seem to have been great plans afoot in her actions. They just happened."

On Saturday, confined to prison on murder charges, Mrs. Smith, 23, was once more suicidal, state officials said. She is being monitored by a camera, and a prison guard checks on her every 15 minutes.

"She's been very quiet, very stoic and cool, not talkative at all," said Robyn Zimmerman, a spokeswoman for the state Department of Corrections.

The path that led her to her high-security cell appears uncomplicated: a small-town life revolving around children, work and friends.

She loved to shop and to attend Friday night football games at the high school, and she proudly showed off photos of her children.

She worked as a secretary at a plant that makes decorative trims for textiles, where

her boyfriend, Tom Findlay, 27, also worked. Before that, she worked at a grocery store, where her husband, David, 24, worked.

"Everybody shopped there, and everybody saw her as a real attractive, friendly, outgoing woman," said Fred Delk, a local resident. "We all used to see her with those children and thought of them as a beautiful, warm family."

But others say that life was not always so easy for Susan Smith.

Union County's sheriff, Howard Wells, a friend of the family, said she had a "troubled background." Her father committed suicide when she was very young, and her marriage had been difficult.

In the weeks leading up to Oct. 25, the night the boys disappeared, her troubles piled up. In late September, she filed for divorce.

On Oct. 18, she received a letter from Mr. Findlay breaking off their relationship and saying that he was not ready for the pressures of fatherhood.

Also in mid-October, David Smith, who had often dropped by her house to spend time with the kids, stopped visiting altogether, according to a neighbor, Catherine Frost.

Mrs. Smith told the police that she was also worried about money. She earned just under \$17,000 annually, but was to receive \$115 a week from the boys' father for child support.

"She came from a pretty well-off family and was used to getting everything she wanted and was kind of spoiled and snobbish," said Kim Gardner, a Union resident. "So all that must have been kind of hard."

Still, for most of those who knew her, the news that Mrs. Smith had killed her own children was unthinkable.

"I couldn't believe it," said Tracy Lovelace, who has been close to Mrs. Smith since high school. "I still can't believe it. That's not the person I know. Something happened in her mind."

Mrs. Smith told the police that she felt desperate because of her difficulties.

Experts interviewed Sunday said such pressures could lead parents to abuse their children but might not totally explain Mrs. Smith's actions.

"This is a very strange situation," said Michael Lamb, a research psychologist at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in Bethesda. "I keep waiting to hear or read about the missing piece, what else was going on."

"From what we know, this is a young woman having a difficult period in her life," he said, with "lots of things going wrong with her life at one time."

"That sort of stress is what's often associated with child abuse, he said, "lashing out at a child, snapping" from pressure.

"In this case," Mr. Lamb said, "it seems to be a much more premeditated situation. That type of premeditated assault on young children is much less common. It makes you think it was a woman with prior psychiatric problems in addition to stress."

In trying to explain the actions of parents who kill their children, experts have pointed to studies that indicate that abusive parents were themselves abused as children.

But "the research is being questioned on that," said Maura O'Keefe, assistant professor of social work at the University of Southern California. She said that the "vast majority" of abused children "grow up to be adequate parents."

There are "a whole lot of other variables," she said.

Mrs. Smith was not allowed to attend her sons' funeral on Sunday, restricted by a regulation that prohibits accused killers from attending services for their victims, Ms. Zimmerman said.

Mrs. Smith was visited Sunday by her attorney, David Bruck, and a private psychologist. She has not been allowed to have other visitors.

China Frees 8 Activists In Gesture On Rights

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China said Sunday that it had released four people imprisoned for inciting anti-government activities in 1989 and also freed four Tibetans sentenced for advocating the region's independence.

A representative of a human-rights organization described the releases as apparently a gesture to the international community just days ahead of a major world trade meeting in Indonesia.

A military crackdown on student protests in Beijing in June 1989 was followed by the arrest and sentencing of many supporters of the protest.

The Xinhua press agency named the first four released as Wang Xiongfeng, Ge Hu, Leng Wanbao and Wu Zhaoqing and said they had been released on parole or on bail for medical treatment.

It said the four Tibetans released on parole or with sentences commuted included a monk, a teacher and a farmer. The releases all took place late in the afternoon, without being more specific.

Beijing claims Tibet has been part of China for 700 years. Tibetans seeking independence say Tibet had de facto independence for much of that time.

Mr. Wang, 49, a teacher at Shaanxi University, was sentenced to serve eight years from June 16, 1989. Xinhua said he was granted parole "because he deepened understanding of his crime and behaved well in prison."

Xinhua said Mr. Ge, 35, a college teacher also in Shaanxi, was sentenced to seven years from June 12, 1989. It said that in prison he obeyed regulations and that he was freed for medical treatment.

Xinhua said Mr. Leng, 34, a worker in the northeastern city of Changchun, was sentenced to eight years from June 10, 1989. He was given parole for his "good attitude" in recognizing his crime and his good behavior in prison.

It said Mr. Wu, 27 and unemployed, was sentenced to seven years by a court in Beijing. In February 1993 his term was commuted by 10 months. He was paroled because he gained understanding of his crime and behaved well in prison, it said.

Robin Munro, Human Rights Watch/Asia's Hong Kong representative, said the releases might have been made some time ago, noting that Mr. Ge, who was diagnosed last year as suffering from cerebral thrombosis, was reported to have been freed in May by Beijing newspapers in Hong Kong.

"It's my guess that they're announcing them now to fend off the Americans" at the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference forum in Indonesia, where President Bill Clinton is to meet with his Chinese counterpart, Jiang Zemin, Mr. Munro said. (AP, Reuters, AFP)

Yeltsin Is Forced By Parliament to Sign Budget Law

MOSCOW — President Boris N. Yeltsin reluctantly admitted defeat on Sunday in a dispute with Parliament, signing a law he had earlier rejected that restricts the government's freedom of maneuver in implementing the 1995 budget.

Mr. Yeltsin's signature marks the first time the weak and divided legislature has managed to join forces and override the president's veto since it was elected last December.

The new law forces the government to keep to a strict timetable in formulating the budget. Mr. Yeltsin had been especially unhappy over a clause that said the government had to split its spending into three-month periods. He said this would limit the cabinet's freedom of maneuver.

A presidential statement accompanying the decree made plain Mr. Yeltsin's displeasure, saying the law flouted the Russian constitution.

On one level, Mr. Yeltsin has simply been coming to terms with a Parliament that is weaker than the old one but nearly as antagonistic.

But on another level, like a party general secretary, Mr. Yeltsin is maneuvering, through personnel shifts and rapid, even arbitrary decisions, to keep his own power.

Mr. Yeltsin presumably understands that the deputies will never love him. But he also knows that this may be his last chance to stabilize the economy before new parliamentary elections in December 1995.

Having risen to power on an anti-Communist, pro-democratic wave, Mr. Yeltsin has decided he must move decisively toward the center, infuriating (and splitting) the liberals and intellectuals.

While giving up that post, he will be better positioned to monitor the budget. But it also means the number of Westernized reformers in the government is now very small.

That does not displease Mr. Yeltsin. Even in early October, heralding a year of relative stability after shelling the old Parliament in October 1993, he spoke of a broader-based cabinet.

So Saturday, Mr. Yeltsin elevated the strongest of the early reformers, Mr. Chubais, 39, to be a first deputy prime minister in charge of economic policy.

Mr. Chubais is widely respected in the West for pushing through Russia's privatization program against conservative opposition. While giving up

1995: Looking Beyond Election Day

Continued from Page 1

text, cooperation would not flourish. The same may well be true in the House, where Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia has promised to take a hard line, either as speaker or as minority leader.

The White House chief of staff, Leon E. Panetta, warned recently of what he termed a bidding war between the parties, in which the two would vie to propose the largest tax cuts, offset by most illusory reductions in federal spending.

While arguing that "the president must reach out on a bipartisan basis," Mr. Panetta said that Mr. Gingrich and his counterpart, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, "have to assume some responsibility for governing the country."

He added, "They can't just be negative obstructionists." An early test of whether cooperation might be possible will come in the postelection statements of top Republicans, another will come in the vote on the new global free market pact, negotiated under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade over the last decade by Republican and Democratic administrations.

A number of the Republicans given a good chance of gaining Senate seats would be considerably more conservative than the senators they would replace, including Oliver L. North in Virginia, James M. Inhofe in Oklahoma, Rick Santorum in Pennsylvania and Michael DeWine in Ohio. If they win, they would push the balance within the Republican caucus to the right.

In such a harsh political climate, cooperation would not flourish.

But it takes two to tango, and the better the Republicans do Tuesday, the stronger position they will be in to demand that their agenda, including such items as the balanced-budget amendment, be given priority. If the Republicans win the seven Senate seats they need to take control, their versions of health care reform (minimal) and welfare reform (rigorous) would move to the top of the list.

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In such a harsh political climate, cooperation would not flourish.

CHAMP: Middle-Aged KO

Continued from Page 1

er, peppered Foreman most of the night with his right-handed jabs and hooks. Foreman's left eye grew partly closed, the left side of his face bruised from the beating.

It seemed certain that the end was near for Foreman — and this would really be the end. Once, it was thought that Foreman, with 73 victories and four defeats, had retired. That was long, long ago, in 1977, after a loss to Jimmy Young in Puerto Rico. Foreman had won the title with a stunning two-round knockout of Joe Frazier in 1973, before losing to Ali the next year. The night he lost to Young, Foreman said he had found religion.

Foreman became an active preacher in his hometown, Houston. He preached — and he ate. He grew so large that few took him seriously when he came out of retirement in 1987 after he had ballooned to 315 pounds (142 kilograms). Slowly, some of the weight came off, and although he always looked painfully slow in the ring, he never lost his ability to give and take punches. On Saturday night, at 250 pounds, he was ready.

Moorer was out cold on the way to the canvas. At the instant that the referee, Joe Cortez, waved the fight over, Foreman dropped to his knees to pray.

"I exorcised the ghost once and forever," Foreman said, alluding to his loss of the title 20 years ago to Ali. "I'm heavy-weight champion."

Though he acknowledged probable losses for the Democrats, Mr. Panetta predicted

come, the newly elected Congress will be more conservative and more polarized. Unless Mr. Clinton can appeal to a moderate center in both parties, conservatives in both parties are most likely to control the policy agenda.

According to Mr. Gramm and Mr. Dole, the conservative program will be highlighted by a proposed amendment to the Constitution that would require Congress to pass a budget each year that is in balance and to bar deficit spending. A two-thirds vote in both houses, followed by ratification by three-fourths of the states, would be required to amend the Constitution.

Mr. Panetta labeled the proposal "the same kind of flimflam from the 1980s" when government spending and the federal deficit ballooned under President Ronald Reagan. To balance the federal budget instantly without cutting Social Security would require a 30 percent cut in every other government program, including defense, he said.

Though he acknowledged probable losses for the Democrats, Mr. Panetta predicted

that his party would hold control of the House and the Senate.

Mr. Dole said top Republican priorities for the next Congress would include what he called "anti-government" votes to reduce the staffs of members of Congress, to limit the terms of members, to stiffen restrictions on lobbying, to cut the tax on capital gains, to pass "real" health care reform and to "take some of the pork" out of the recently enacted anti-crime bill.

International Herald Tribune

AMERICAN TOPICS

More Shoppers Turn to Plain-Label Goods

Plain-label products are gaining popularity among U.S. supermarket shoppers. A distant relative of the generic foods that became popular in the late 1970s as the recession took hold, plain-label — also known as private-label or store brand — foods are sold under a store's own name or a name created just for the outlet.

Just about every supermarket has them, sitting on the same shelves as the better-known, higher-priced brand names. Plain-label items make up about 20 percent of the grocery market today, up from 15 percent in 1988, according to the Private Label Manufacturers Association in New York.

Analysts say the reason is twofold: The price is right, and the quality has improved dramatically.

"The private labels today are different than the generics of the past," said John M. O'Neil, who follows the food industry for Oppenheimer & Co. in New York. "The generics competed only on price, and the quality suffered."

"Now, it's price value. You're getting the similar quality of the name brand at the lower price."

The price differences can be startling. At Schnucks, one of the biggest supermarket chains in St. Louis, a 2-liter bottle of Schnucks soda sells for 79 cents. Brand-name sodas cost \$1.69. Schnucks corn flakes sell for \$1.19, compared with \$2.89 for the name brand.

Short Takes

Perhaps the "perp walk" — marching an accused perpetrator of some crime out of the police station in handcuffs in front of television cameras and curious onlookers — should be abolished, John Tierney suggests in *The New York Times Magazine*. The perp walk "honors the police, sells papers, boosts television ratings and entertains the public — all at the expense of a person who is supposed to have the presumption of innocence."

Fifty-seven years after the Walt Disney animated classic, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" made its debut in theaters, the first video release arrived in retail stores last week to record demand. With about 27 million tapes ordered in North America at a list price, often discounted, of \$26.99, "Snow White" is expected to become the best-selling cassette yet, breaking the record set by "Aladdin" — also a Disney release — by 3 million.

Drive-by humor, courtesy of the Los Angeles County Transportation Commission: The Los Angeles Times reports that "two automobile drivers involved in a wreck at 2d and Spring Streets weren't exactly amused by an MTA bus that passed by. Speaking into his microphone, the bus driver blared at them. 'You should have taken the b-u-u-s-s-s! You should have taken the b-u-u-s-s-s!'"

International Herald Tribune

RUSSIA: President Realizes the Need for Compromise

Continued from Page 1

N. Shokin, a deputy prime minister who doubled as economics minister and one of the last of the original reformers. (Mr. Yeltsin accepted Mr. Shokin's resignation on Sunday.)

So Saturday, Mr. Yeltsin elevated the strongest of the early reformers, Mr. Chubais, 39, to be a first deputy prime minister in charge of economic policy.

Mr. Chubais is widely respected in the West for pushing through Russia's privatization program against conservative opposition. While giving up

that post, he will be better positioned to monitor the budget. But it also means the number of Westernized reformers in the government is now very small.

That does not displease Mr. Yeltsin. Even in early October, heralding a year of relative stability after shelling the old Parliament in October 1993, he spoke of a broader-based cabinet.

Having risen to power on an anti-Communist, pro-democratic wave, Mr. Yeltsin has decided he must move decisively toward the center, infuriating (and splitting) the liberals and intellectuals.

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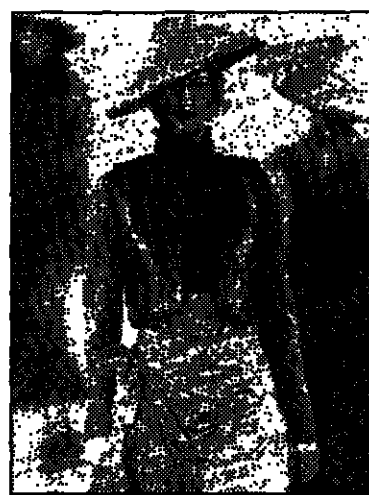
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Style

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Prop Planes: High on the Jitter Scale, but Often the Only Way to Go

By Adam Bryant

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Although many passengers express concern over flying in propeller-driven planes—and some compare such flights to “riding on the back of a mosquito”—a growing number of passengers in the United States are finding

that propeller aircraft are the only way they can reach their destinations.

Major airlines are replacing jets with propeller planes on more routes as a way to cut costs in an industry that lost \$12.8 billion over the last four years.

But they are not very popular with passengers, many of whom

complain about the noise and the often-bumpy rides associated with propeller planes. Travel agents say that some people go out of their way to avoid the smaller planes, even driving to nearby cities that have jet service.

“I’ll never take them again if I have a choice,” said Karen Beauregard, an administrator

with the state of Michigan who flew in a propeller-driven plane, through the same storm in which the American Eagle Flight 4184 crashed Oct. 31 in Roselawn, Indiana, killing all 68 people aboard.

“When I came in Monday night, it was harrowing,” she said. “I prayed all the way.”

To some degree, concerns

about the safety record of propeller aircraft are justified. Although there are no direct comparisons of the safety records of jet aircraft and propeller planes, industry executives generally agree that the rate of fatal accidents has been two to three times higher on propeller planes than it is on jets.

Generally, smaller propeller planes have a higher accident rate than the larger ones.

The American Eagle ATR-72 that crashed last week was among the largest of the commercial propeller planes.

The number of passengers boarding propeller planes each year more than doubled in the last 10 years, to 52 million, according to the Regional Airline Association in Washington.

While the propeller planes are the only choice available at about 7 of every 10 airports in the United States, they are also being used to fly more short routes from big hub airports.

Since 1988, for example, departures on commuter airlines from hub airports has grown 73

percent, while the number of jet departures on short routes has increased only 3 percent, according to statistics compiled by Samuel C. Buttrick, an airline stock analyst at Kidder, Peabody in New York.

Some city officials believe that without jet service, their communities appear second-rate to outsiders. So in cities like Amarillo, Texas, officials have agreed to guarantee profits to an airline to provide jet service.

Travel agents say that customers sometimes switch their vacation plans once they learn they have to board a propeller aircraft to get to their destination.

Estelle Lessack, president of Travel Trends, an agency in Fort Lee, New Jersey, said she has seen customers who flew on turboprops when they traveled alone, but refused to do so when traveling with their children.

“Many people are fatalists,” she said. “They just don’t want to be fatalists with their families.” Yet, despite such concerns,

the American Eagle crash does not appear to have changed many travelers’ minds about flying on turboprops. American Eagle, other regional airlines and travel agents say they have seen no measurable decline in reservations since the crash.

By comparison, USAir estimated that its two jet crashes this year prompted many travelers to switch airlines, which cost the company about \$40 million in lost revenue.

Industry experts said that passenger traffic on turboprops held steady during the past week because many passengers had no choice but to fly the smaller planes unless they wanted to drive to another airport. And they said that many travelers appeared to have decided long ago whether they would fly on the smaller aircraft, and the recent crash had not changed their mind.

Some people even enjoy flying on smaller planes. “The pi-

lots are friendlier and you can see out the front window,” said Shelley Ruckel, a travel agency manager in Lansing, Michigan.

Although many travelers see propeller planes as an older technology than jets, the U.S. fleet of passenger-carrying turboprops is somewhat younger than the jet fleets, with an average age of 9.4 years in 1993, compared with 10.8 years for jets.

Since April, the National Transportation Safety Board has been studying the safety of the commuter airline industry, looking at issues that include pilot training. Its report is due this month.

The International Airline Passengers Association, an organization in Washington that monitors air safety in foreign countries, said that travelers should fly on propeller planes only in good weather and in daylight hours to minimize the chance of accidents.

Agency Warns on the Use of Autopilot

By Don Phillips

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Federal Aviation Administration has issued new operating procedures for planes like the one that crashed last week in Indiana, advising pilots not to use the autopilot in icing conditions and to follow carefully all recommended ice-avoidance practices.

The agency administrator, David R. Hinson, also called a meeting of officials from each airline that operates the popular twin-turboprop ATR-72 or ATR-42 “to stress the importance of compliance and to discuss ATR operations in icing conditions.”

The agency’s advice to crews of all classes of the twin-turboprop ATR series, although couched in technical language, boiled down to this: Fly the plane yourself, keep your speed up, don’t use wing flaps when holding, avoid freezing rain and in general don’t do some of the things that the crew of American Eagle Flight 4184 did before it crashed Oct. 31, killing all 68 people aboard.

The recommendations are similar to

orders issued Thursday by American Eagle to its pilots. American Eagle is the largest operator of ATRs, which are high-wing, short-range aircraft. The company stressed it was not prejudging the cause of the crash but taking prudent precautions.

Almost from the start, investigators

Even with anti-ice devices engaged, ice can form on the wings and tail of an ATR.

for the National Transportation Safety Board suspected that the plane might have fallen victim to a phenomenon that has been documented several times in the past involving the ATR-42, a shorter version of the ATR-72-210 that crashed.

The French-Italian consortium that makes the ATR determined years ago that certain precautions must be taken in icing conditions. Even with anti-ice de-

vices engaged, ice can form on the wings and tail of an ATR under certain conditions unless pilots fly the plane somewhat differently.

One of the main precautions is to add at least 10 knots, about 11 miles an hour, to normal air speed. Pilots also should watch for signs that the plane is becoming sluggish or slow to respond.

In a 1987 crash in Italy and a near-crash in Wisconsin in 1988, however, investigators discovered that when the autopilot was engaged, pilots might not notice the telltale signs that ice was forming and might be presented with a sudden emergency when the autopilot determined that it could not handle the emergency and shut itself off.

Flight 4184’s cockpit voice recorder contained a warning signal that the autopilot had turned off just as the plane’s ailerons—movable wing parts that control turns—“deflected rapidly,” according to the board chairman, Jim Hall. That sent the plane into a right roll. It recovered slightly, but then rolled over on its back and plunged downward.

Court Gives U.S. Leeway on Return of Cubans

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A three-judge federal panel in Atlanta has given permission to the United States to repatriate Cubans who say they want to go home, a victory in the Clinton administration’s efforts to give Cubans who fled by boat no other choice but to go back to their Communist homeland.

The United States has interned more than 30,000 Cubans at U.S. military bases at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and in Panama, denying them the status of political refugees that was routinely granted Cubans for more than 30 years.

Faced with no hope of winning asylum in the United States, about 1,000 Cubans have asked to return home.

The court action in Atlanta on Friday overturned a recent decision by a federal judge in Miami to bar the government from sending any Cubans back.

The Miami decision had appeared to open the way for the Cubans to seek asylum in Guantanamo and Panama as if they already had arrived in the United States.

BOOKS

SHADOWS OF THE MIND: A Search for the Missing Science of Consciousness

By Roger Penrose. Illustrated. 457 pages. \$25. Oxford University Press.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

IS the digital computer merely a simpler version of the human brain, as many theorists contend? If in fact it is, the implications are scary. For then, as Roger Penrose points out in his profound new book, “Shadows of the Mind: A Search for the Missing Science of Consciousness,” “all thinking is computation; in particular, feelings of conscious awareness are evoked merely by the carrying out of appropriate computations.” And it is only a matter of time before the fabricators of artificial intelligence will be producing minds that make human beings obsolete.

But not to worry; it isn’t true, argues Penrose, who is Rouse Ball professor of mathematics at the University of Oxford and, with Stephen Hawking, the winner of the 1988 Wolf Prize for physics.

Consciousness is more than computation, Penrose reasons, using the famous theorem posed by the Czech-born logician Kurt Gödel in 1930, which proves that “no formal system of sound mathematical rules of proof can ever suffice, even in principle, to

establish all the true propositions of ordinary arithmetic.” Penrose suggests that, similarly, “Human intuition and insight cannot be reduced to any set of rules,” meaning that the mind and the computer are essentially different.

Moreover, Penrose argues in part two of “Shadows,” increasing evidence is unfolding that if human consciousness transcends computational logic, it may well obey different physical laws from the classical ones that govern synaptic action. The author speculates that these transcendental laws could be those of the still puzzling and paradoxical reality of quantum mechanics, in which an indeterminate event can simultaneously happen and not happen and where the cat in Erwin Schrödinger’s well-known thought experiment is both alive and dead.

Now of course well-informed readers will recognize these arguments as coming from Penrose’s previous book, “The Emperor’s New Mind,” which was greeted by several expert readers as one of the best books ever written on modern physics.

But as Penrose explains in the preface to “Shadows,” his new book goes considerably beyond his earlier one, first by responding in detail to those who criticize his use of Gödel’s theorem, and second by speculating far more precisely on the location of the brain’s quantum sites.

Such a book, with its somewhat technical discussions of Gödel’s ideas and its necessarily

mathematical explication of quantum phenomena, may sound a bit difficult for nonexperts to absorb. To readers who feel daunted, Penrose offers what he describes as “a relatively painless route to the essentials of this case,” to be obtained by reading approximately two dozen of the book’s 113 sections.

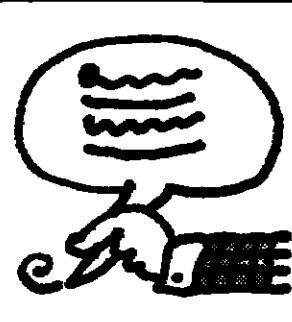
Yet because Penrose writes

the dielectric properties of the materials concerned are sufficiently extreme, then there is the possibility of large-scale quantum coherence similar to that which occurs in the phenomena of superconductivity and superfluidity—sometimes referred to as Bose-Einstein condensation—even at the relatively high temperatures that are present in

WHAT THEY’RE READING

• Helmut Newton, the photographer, is reading “The Kid Stays in the Picture,” the autobiography of the movie mogul Robert Evans.

“Robert Evans is a friend of mine, and he writes exactly as he talks. He profiles mob lawyers, studio executives and starlets. It’s not terribly profound, but it’s very, very funny.” (Marcelle Katz, IHT)



with such precision, you feel even when he is most obscurely technical that you are grasping what is important about his argument.

As he concludes, “Accordingly, the neuron level of description that provides the currently fashionable picture of the brain and mind is a mere shadow of the deeper level of cytoskeletal action—and it is at this deeper level where we must seek the physical basis of mind!”

Summing up one physicist’s conclusions, Penrose writes that “so long as the energy of metabolic drive is large enough, and

biological systems.” Talk about astounding science!

Finally, what is perhaps most arresting about Penrose’s narrative is the way purely mathematical discoveries seem to foreshadow findings about physical reality. At least in the author’s thinking this is certainly true of Gödel’s theorem, whose proof was surely not originally intended to support the possibility of the quantum nature of human consciousness.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

AFTER a three-spade opening from West, Elly Schippers landed in good six-diamond contract. This would have been easy after a spade lead, allowing the spade queen to score in the dummy. A passive lead in a red suit would have done better. After drawing trumps South would have finessed the club queen, expecting, if this failed, to develop dummy’s fifth club as the 12th trick.

But Schippers was faced with the prompt lead of the club seven. As this was likely to be a singleton, she could not afford to finesse and suffer an immediate ruff. She therefore put up the ace, cashed dummy’s red king and played to the diamond. It was now very probable that West’s original distribution was either 7-3-2-1 or 7-2-2-2, for with 7-1-2-3 a heart lead would have been likely. And as the club two had been played, the seven could not be the top of a doubleton.

If, as it seemed, the club seven was indeed a singleton, South needed to play the ace and another spade, establishing dummy’s queen for a discard.

NORTH
♦ Q 4 2
♥ K
♦ K Q J 2
♠ A Q 10 8 3

WEST (D)
♦ K J 10 9 7 6 5
♥ 10 2
♦ 8 4
♠ K 7

EAST
♦ J 8 5 4 3
♥ 3
♦ J 9 8 2
♠ A 8

SOUTH
♦ A 7 6
♥ A 7 6 5
♦ 5 4

Both sides were vulnerable. The

bidding:
West North East South
3 ♣ 3 N.T. Pass 4 ♣
Pass 4 ♣ Pass 6 ♣
West led the club seven.

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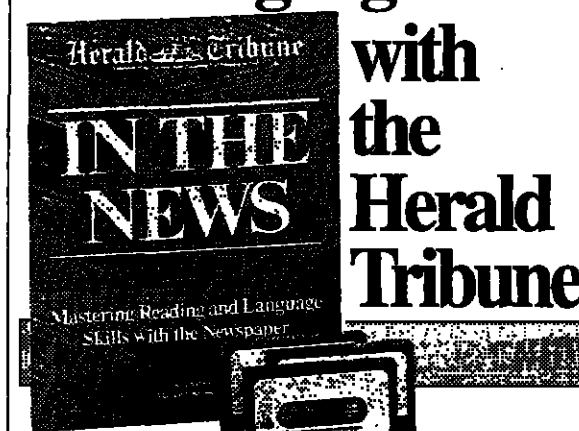
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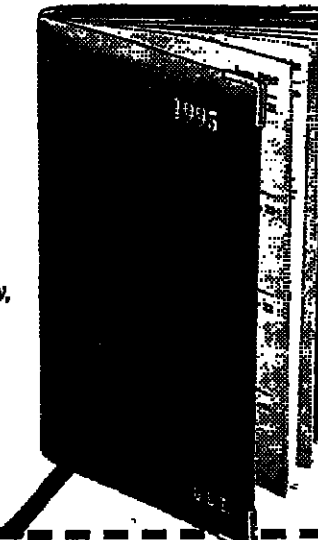
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PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

A Wider European Union

Five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Europe remains economically divided between East and West. The European Union spent most of that period trying to strengthen links among its West European members instead of reaching out to the post-Communist countries of the East, unnecessarily complicating the Easterners' transition to democratic capitalism. Thanks mainly to political shifts in key West European countries, a less parochial outlook is taking hold.

Austria, Norway, Sweden and Finland are scheduled to be admitted next year. The most advanced post-Communist economies, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, have a realistic chance of admission within the next decade. But some Mediterranean countries still fear Eastern Europe as a competitor for financial resources and political influence. Washington could help calm these fears and encourage broader European unity. Economic integration is as important to East European stability as NATO membership, and far less provocative to Moscow.

Germany is the main champion of bringing in the East. The viability of its eastern neighbors affects its own national security, and Germans do not want their eastern border to become the frontier between a "have" and a "have not" Europe. Britain and the Netherlands also favor eastward expansion.

Until recently, a Mediterranean bloc made up of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece resisted opening toward the east. These countries worry about a reallocation in regional subsidies, competition for their farmers and a shift in the European Union's political center from the Medi-

terranean toward the German-oriented east. They also fear neglect of their own security concerns about Islamic militants in nearby North Africa. But the new conservative governments in France and Italy look more favorably on eastward expansion. These governments are more enthusiastic about free markets and less interested in a bureaucratically unified West than their center-left predecessors.

These changes contributed to the success of a breakthrough meeting last Monday in Luxembourg between European Union foreign ministers and their counterparts from Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. All of these East European countries now have, or are in the process of ratifying, formal association agreements with the European Union providing for step-by-step access to the single European market.

Luxembourg was a step in the right direction. But the main decisions on the future shape of the European Union will be taken at the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference to review the Maastricht treaty. Since the United States is not a member of the European Union, it will not directly participate in these decisions. But it can and should speak out for bringing in the East. A stronger U.S. voice would help reassure Mediterranean countries that German influence would be balanced and that their concerns over North Africa would not be slighted.

What the European Union must now decide is whether it is going to be an institution for binding together a long-divided continent or a perpetuator of those old divisions.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reducing Russia's Army

The Clinton administration has made remarkable headway in its efforts to help Russia dismantle its nuclear forces. Washington's engagement in this enterprise has reached levels that would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. The United States has built housing for former Soviet missile controllers. Pentagon officials now give virtually the same briefing on U.S. nuclear policy to Russia's Parliament as they give to Congress. Unfortunately, Washington has not yet given equal attention to the need to downsize Moscow's non-nuclear forces. U.S. cooperation is essential to reduce Russia's army to a level that Russia and its neighbors can live with.

Russia currently has 1.1 million people under arms. It cannot afford to maintain a force that size. Draft-dodging has reached epidemic proportions as recruits recognize that the army cannot provide them three square meals a day, never mind a timely paycheck. Yet even with its defense spending in free fall and arms procurements near a standstill, Moscow's defense bill still drives up its budget deficit, and threatens new inflationary pressures.

To generations that grew up fearing the Soviet threat, that may sound like good news. Yet while the armed forces must shrink, letting them collapse uncontrollably is risky. A collapse would put thousands of troops on the street, freeing them to engage in mischief in newly independent republics. It would also embitter career officers and help fuel a nationalist resurgence. The obvious course is for Russia to reduce its armed forces in an orderly way. But even that will meet

strong political resistance unless the United States takes concrete steps to reassure Russia about its security.

Russia's vaunted air defenses, for example, have sprung leaks. The Defense Ministry may thus be tempted to keep more fighter planes than it can afford. The United States could ease Russian fears by offering to integrate Moscow into the Western air traffic control network. It could also invest in housing and job training for officers mustered out of the armed forces — much as it has invested in those who manned Russia's nuclear arsenal. That would help minimize the prospect of a nation full of unemployed and potentially unruly soldiers.

Above all, the West should resist any immediate temptation to include Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe in an expanded NATO. Russian military planners are certain to view any such expansion as a serious regional threat and will be even less inclined to shrink their forces.

No U.S. official is better positioned to encourage a broadened dialogue on Russia's conventional forces than the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Shalikashvili. In the aftermath of Vietnam, when morale in America's armed forces hit bottom, he tasted the bitterness that the Russian army is now experiencing. He further understands the risks of an expanded NATO — a move that would commit his troops to the defense of Eastern Europe but inspire a recidivist backlash in Russia. He should take the lead in discussing a Russian military build-down.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clinton and Indonesia

It has become the practice — and a good one — for the human rights groups to piggyback on summits and big international conferences to press their special cause. Right now the focus is on the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting about to open in Indonesia. Its military-chosen government sees a prime opportunity to show off economic growth and foreign policy stability. President Suharto may hope that the economic declarations coming out of Bogor will lend him the statesmanlike glow that his predecessor President Sukarno took on as a father of the nonaligned movement at Bandung in 1955. It is the right moment for the thousands of officials and onlookers to ask about the price that has been paid for the progress claimed.

In fact, Indonesia has committed what Amnesty International calls a "pattern of systematic human rights violations" over the years. The calling of the Bogor conference may have aggravated the offense: independent labor unions and peaceful dissidents have been swept up. In the last year, Indonesia has tipped up to, and then fled from, a limited experiment in political "openness." Its return to a more repressive leadership style was marked by the banning of three unimpeached publications last June.

Whatever rationale for hard-line rule

was invoked in more parlous times, there can be no good justification for Mr. Suharto's reversion to authoritarian type now. Growth has created a middle class that is demanding the political privileges appropriate to a modernizing society. The banned papers were offering a check on official conduct and corruption — a high value in a country whose House of Representatives is mostly a rubber stamp. The papers were also giving voice to Indonesia's newly threatened "non-government organizations." These constitute the makings of a bottom-up civil society — again, a high value in a country where authority is commonly asserted from the top down.

The United States provided the secret support in the name of anti-communism that then General Suharto used to muscle aside President Sukarno in the 1960s. Later Washington enabled Indonesia, which it saw as a strategic partner, to illegally swallow the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which it holds and represses to this day. Their past closeness adds an edge of obligation to the plain American interest in seeing an important and friendly Asian country swing onto a democratic path. President Bill Clinton, his Asian eye so far on commerce, has a chance to show he understands.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Voters at a Loss for Lack of a Blueprint

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — American voters on Tuesday will be searching for many things: tax cuts, better and more efficient government, and the satisfaction of ousting old bums and picking new ones. But these elections will also link Americans to voters around the world who seek a new ideology to explain their complex lives and soften their frustrations.

That may not seem immediately obvious. Modern elections usually turn on local issues and personalities. The mean-spirited campaign that has just ended seemed especially lacking in signposts that point to a renewal of ideology as a driving force in American politics.

Explanations for the heavy losses the Democrats are expected to register in the House, Senate and governors' mansions range from tired blood to the Hillary and Bill Effect. But the Democrats would not go into a dark night of electoral bloodbath alone. The stunning losses suffered by the majority parties in national legislatures elsewhere in the past 18 months suggest that something larger is at work.

Helmut Kohl's conservative coalition in Germany went from a 66-seat margin in the Bundestag to a very shaky 10-vote advantage after elections last month. In France last year the Socialists were downsize by voters from 270 seats and power in the National Assembly on election day to 54 seats and insignificance the day after.

Canada's national election a year ago was an ultimate wipeout. The ruling Conservative Party lost 152 of its 154 seats. In Japan and Italy, parties that had ruled since World War II not only lost power but also lost their identities. Even in the new democracies of Eastern Europe and Russia, sourness and disappointment have brought electoral reversals for the heroes of the revolutions.

Each of these elections had its own characteristics and individual turning points, as does each race in Tuesday's U.S. balloting. But if the Democrats do suffer heavy losses, there will be new grounds on Wednesday for believing that a general crisis of confidence in government exists in the world's most important industrial democracies.

Why should this be so five years after the Berlin Wall came down, four years after the Soviet Union began to implode, three years after George Bush boasted that America had "kicked the Vietnam syndrome" in the Gulf War, two years after an American economic recovery began to gather steam, one year after Washington signed trade agreements

ensuring a more prosperous future with Canada, Mexico and the rest of the world?

These events were hailed as vindications of the West's resolve and ideological superiority. Logically, voters should be showering politicians who had a role in producing such change with lifetime contracts and big limos. Instead the polls are being shown the door with what seems to be unprecedented bitterness and haste. What gives?

Part of the explanation of this transnational frustration with the "ins" lies in the loss of global ideology that accompanied these triumphs — the loss of the predictable way of looking at the world provided by the comfortable, largely unexamined ideas about anti-communism at home and abroad that expired with the Cold War's end.

The end of ideology was a liberating event for those imprisoned in the Soviet tyranny. They lived with an acute realization not always remembered in the West: The main purpose of ideology is to deny reality — to explain away what cannot be explained.

Ideological beliefs obscure the obvious contradictions and frustrations of change and everyday life as well as the big political lies of those whose only concern is to keep power. Ideology helps explain away what

we see with our own eyes. That was a gigantic and ultimately impossible task within the Soviet system, which cracked under its weight.

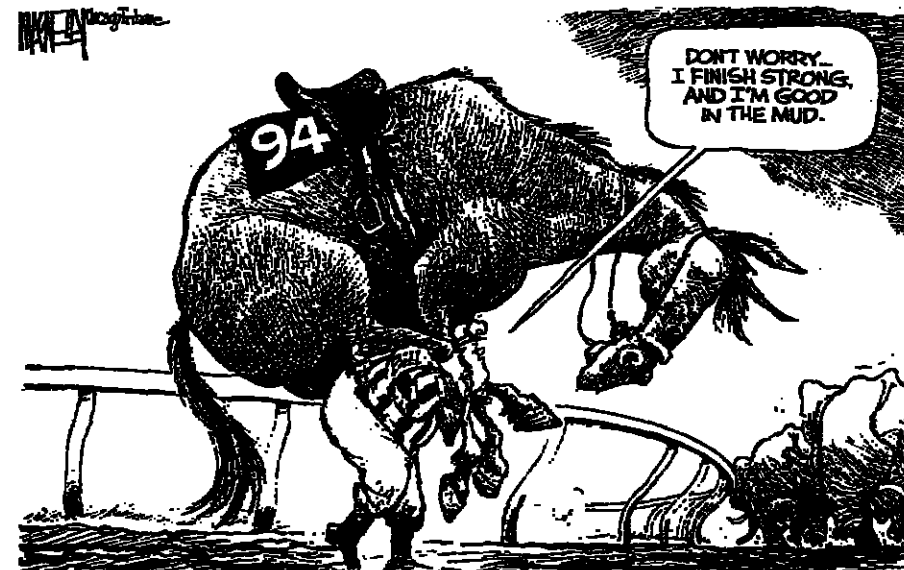
In America, ideological illusions have been much milder and less damaging. But it would be a mistake to assume that they have not played a key role in American politics.

As Ronald Reagan expanded government spending and budget deficits to record levels, it became more and more necessary for him to attack those two practices. Both parties were more comfortable debating supply-side economics in the Reagan years than acknowledging that America, in that time of laissez-faire policy and personal acquisitiveness, was giving birth to an urban proletariat whose members are unlikely to ever find jobs or be able to avoid the temptation of crime.

Without the large ideology of global conflict to put wind in their sails, George Bush and then Bill Clinton failed to define a larger purpose that would give voters a reason to overlook the frustrations of modern life. This is true for Congress and many other governmental institutions in America and abroad.

The chickens of voter vengeance have come home to roost overseas. They are likely to be moving toward the American chicken coop on Tuesday.

The Washington Post



Americans, Too, Can Clean Up the Campaigning

By William Pfaff

PARIS — I suppose this is a hopeless cause, but in an election season anything can happen, and certainly this year's has been the most sordid American election campaign yet.

Americans do not have to put up with this. There is a way to change political campaigns for the better: by eliminating paid political advertising on television and radio. Nearly every other democracy bans it and enforces an impartial use of the airwaves by candidates and parties.

The United States is the only serious democracy that allows its politics to be dominated by a system that compels people to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars — sometimes millions — in order to have a chance to be elected to public office.

The system corrupts and demeans candidates, corrupts the political system because of the influence it gives to those who contribute the money, and corrupts the debate by driving out the discussion of issues, substituting emotional appeals, image-mongering and character assassination — the last a particular feature of this year's campaigns.

A recent analysis by the non-partisan Center for Responsive Politics notes a huge shift in corporate political contributions this year from the Republican to the Democratic Party. This obviously is not caused by a rush of admiration for Bill Clinton and the policies of his administration, but by these

companies' wish to place the governing party in their debt, particularly in making appointments to regulatory agencies.

The biggest contributions are from companies in the tightly regulated fields of energy, telecommunications, agriculture, and banking and finance.

The advantage that the present system gives not only to special interests but to incumbents is obvious, at a time when there is a massive (if not particularly rational) movement of voter opinion against incumbents.

The argument also is made that this system provides officeholders with an unconstitutional advantage, since no challenger can expect to enjoy the same cash favors from special interests as the man already in Washington, or in the state legislature or statehouse. It certainly is a system which defies the spirit of the American constitutional system, in which citizens (and candidates) are supposed to be equal.

Money corruption is a factor in all democracies, as currently or recently and blatantly is demonstrated in Italy, France, Britain and Japan. But why must Americans positively encourage corruption by the way they run their elections? Paid political broadcasts should be banned.

A system of equitably distributed broadcast time for rival candidates and parties should be substituted. Nearly everyone

else in the democratic world does this. Why can't America?

In principle, one would think that this time should be contributed by broadcasters and cable companies as part of their public service obligation, but that undoubtedly is too much to ask. The time will have to be paid for from public funds. Since the cost of campaigns will have drastically been reduced by this reform, together with the consequent demands on federal matching money, the public will undoubtedly still come out ahead.

Certainly the present system amounts to a machine for transferring the public funds granted candidates into the bank accounts of the broadcasting companies. That, of course, is one reason the opposition to what I propose is so virulent.

The benefits of reform nonetheless are clear. The influence of special-interest campaign contributors and political action committees would be greatly reduced. The power of lobbyists in Washington and in the state capitals would be cut, as they would no longer hold a money threat over officeholders. The political field would be opened up to new candidates.

Television would be depoluted during campaign time. Journalists would be forced to stop covering campaigns as campaigns and go back to covering politicians as politicians

— and even to discussing issues.

There is something more that could be done. There could be rules about what goes into a political broadcast. Certain kinds of appeals could be banned. The emotionally loaded image could be excluded. Politicians could be forced to talk to voters in their broadcasts, be interviewed, debate one another, be challenged. No doubt this would make the campaigns much more boring than now, but in the governance of a democracy, boring reality would seem preferable to fiction, fantasy and fabrication. No doubt this reform would also be attacked as limiting free speech. But it would in fact encourage and even require free speech, in place of lying images and demagogic manipulation.

If politicians and pundits can seriously talk about term limits, which solve nothing, or mandated budget balancing, which is economic nonsense, or any other half-baked nostrum in current American public debate, we can certainly talk about installing the campaign rules and limitations that prevail in most of the rest of the democratic world.

We can eliminate a practice that most of the world's democratic citizens see as a scandalous subversion of representative government, benefiting only demagogues and special interest. Who among America's politicians would take the lead?

International Herald Tribune
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Mandela Has a Duty to Rehabilitate His Young Lions

By Nancy Scheper-Hughes

BERKELEY, California — The recent conviction of three young men in South Africa for the killing of Amy Biehl, a white American student who had ventured into the black township of Guguletu, points to a question hanging over the future of the country. Politicized youth were once in the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid. Where do they fit into the new South Africa?

In a speech early this year, Nelson Mandela lamented the transformation of what his African National Congress called "young lions." "The youth in the townships have had over the decades a visible enemy, the government. Now that enemy is no longer visible because of the transformation that is taking place. Their enemy is now you and me — people who drive a car and have a house."

Yet it was the African National Congress which recruited township youth in the first place — into campaigns that kept them out of school and in the streets.

When the revolution succeeded, the young revolutionaries were swept aside. Old enough to fight, they were told that they were not old enough to vote, and Mr. Mandela's early campaign promise to lower the voting age to 14 was forgotten. These young men are now widely referred to as a lost generation. Some, such as the killers of Amy Biehl, have turned to spontaneous violence.

The problem is severe. Since the presidential election last April, there have been reports of

brutal attacks by youth gangs and others not against those who collaborated with the police, as in the past, but against suspected witches, thieves or anyone perceived as an enemy.

The murder of Amy Biehl, in August 1993, and the black-on-black violence are part of the same phenomenon: renegade forms of popular justice that developed in opposition to apartheid.

In the townships and squatter camps, "people's courts" and discipline committees have long substituted for government-administered law. Local committees punish infractions from drunkenness and disorderly conduct to collaboration with the police.

Punishments include public apologies, fines, community service and house arrest. More serious crimes might be punished by flogging, ritual mutilation, banishment or even — for suspected informers — the gasoline-soaked burning tire called the necklace.

In the heat of the moment, popular justice is sometimes derailed by volatile impromptu acts of vengeance meted out by angry mobs, self-appointed vigilantes and gang members. Yet the two must not be confused: the township councils and committees represent genuine local governance and self-determination.

While doing research in the squatter camps of the Western Cape, I was often impressed by the thoughtful and responsible

manner of the young men involved in community policing.

Last February, for example, in the Chris Hani camp, several activist youths, representing the ANC and radical student organizations, intervened when an angry mob gathered around three boys caught stealing 400 rand (about \$125) from a local saloon owner. At considerable risk to themselves, the young men negotiated to reduce the demand for necklacing the thieves to 50 lashes with a bullwhip.

Although the flogging was harsh, the young thieves survived. Two of them later went through Xhosa initiations and became fully accepted adults in the community. Nothing more was said of their infraction.

And many young activists in the camps are urging their communities to explore alternatives to corporal punishment.

One thing is certain. The ANC should accept some responsibility for the politicized and angry youth and for the existence of these informal but essentially democratic local forums, and find ways for harnessing them.

It might be possible, for example, to turn the people's courts into more formal bodies, and to negotiate standards for community policing and punishment.

And Mr. Mandela's government will have to find a better way to reach out to township youth. It is a homefront sign that

Judge Gerald Friedman rejected the death penalty for Amy Biehl's assailants, in the belief that they might someday become useful citizens of the new South Africa.

The writer, a professor of anthropology at the University of California, taught social anthropology at the University of Cape Town from July 1993 to July 1994. She contributed this comment to The New York Times.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Editor Sentenced

PARIS — [The Herald says in an editorial:] There are limits to the liberty of the Press, as the editor of a Parisian Radio-Socialist newspaper has just learned to his cost. He has been sentenced by the Jury of the Seine to a year's imprisonment, the maximum penalty for insulting and defaming the President of the Republic. The juryman would have forgiven insults heaped by a journalist in the heat of press polemics, but the moment it became a question of principle, they were stern. The verdict is universally approved.

1919: Cure for Cancer?

BUENOS AIRES — Medical circles here are discussing the discovery of a plant which seems to give curative effects in cases of cancer. The remedy is applied by means of subcutaneous injections. A paper

The Pacific As One Big Market?

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton goes to Indonesia next week for a summit with Asian leaders, amid optimism about the creation of a huge 18-nation free trade zone.

A vision of a powerful Pacific economic community has been gaining strength since the inception five years ago of the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation movement, the forum for Mr. Clinton's presence in Indonesia.

Advocacy of an Asia-Pacific free trade area has been strongly influenced by a 24-member "Eminent Persons Group" chaired by the American economist C. Fred Bergsten, who believes that a free trade area would especially benefit the United States, giving it access to huge markets.

The idea has been pushed by Indonesian President Suharto, who wants to take APEC faster into an operational mode than many of his fellow Asians.

Mr. Bergsten proposes that negotiations for a free trade area begin in 2000 and conclude no later than 2020 for the least developed nations. Japan and the United States would scrap all their barriers by 2010.

For some in America, free, open trade with Asia raises the specter of cheap goods that would cost American jobs.

Is the Bergsten/Suharto pressure for an Asia-Pacific free trade zone too ambitious? The question is raised by Paula Stern, former chair of the International Trade Commission and a longtime devotee of the idea that Asia will be the dominant economic force in the 21st century.

In two recent private debates in Washington (one at the Heritage Foundation, the other at a State Department forum), Ms. Stern argued that a sounder trade policy toward Asia would be to pursue a slower, "building block" approach aimed at achieving "concrete, achievable goals to transform APEC into a regional framework for enhancing trade."

She would try to "lock in" easier-to-reach agreements on individual sectors. What must be demonstrated, she says, is that free trade with Asia "is not simply a threat to American producers."

Ms. Stern takes the pragmatic view that raising the issue of free trade at the meeting in Indonesia could give American opponents of GATT legislation one more tool with which to fight passage of the global treaty.

The whole idea that there is a definable Pacific community is "a myth," she says. She contends that although the Asian bloc has awesome economic power, it is fragile because of the lack of cultural cohesion.

Mr. Bergsten tells me he is baffled by criticism from Ms. Stern, with whom he has worked closely in the past. All the "building block" short-term approaches she recommends, he says, were first developed by his group. He does not see why the "building block" tactic and a free trade vision can't work together, in tandem.

"Moreover, I reject the idea of an Asian cultural divide," he told me. "The forces that pull them apart are overcome by a stronger commonality of interests."

There are two overriding reasons why Asians want a strong APEC and ultimately a free trade area, Mr. Bergsten said. First, despite huge intra-Asian commerce, the Asian nations still have an enormous dependence on the North American market; and they want more North American investment. They see a free trade zone as insurance against U.S. protectionism.

"Second, on the security side: Most of the smaller nations want to keep us engaged in Asia as the countervailing power to an enormously growing China. They're scared to death of China becoming the dominant power in Asia."

However, as Ms. Stern suggests, there is little yet to indicate that the American public, almost torn apart by the prospect of free trade with tiny Mexico, will buy into free trade with the big poor nations of Asia. At least, any time soon.

The Washington Post



International Herald Tribune

ESTABLISHED 1887

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S.A. au capital de 1,200,000 F. RCS Nanterre B 732021126. Commission Paritaire No. 61337
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CAPITAL MARKETS

Inflation Worries Spread To U.S. Municipal Market

NEW YORK — Concern that U.S. inflation is bound to rise as the economy expands has taken a toll not only on government securities prices, but on the municipal bond market, where yields have reached four-year highs.

Over the past month, mutual funds and other institutional investors have flooded the market with lists of municipal bonds for sale as they tried to raise cash for redemptions.

The influx of supply of municipal bonds has added to broker's already swollen inventories. According to the Standard & Poor's

Municipal bonds have underperformed the Treasury bond market recently.

Corp.'s so-called Blue List, securities houses held more than \$2 billion worth of municipal bonds in inventory on Friday, marking the 13th straight day that inventories held at that level. Inventory volume is considered high when the Blue List shows more than \$1.5 billion worth of securities on hand.

"No one feels safe that if you buy today that it will be worth more the next day," said Joseph Gallagher, a vice president at Caromona Motely & Co. in New York.

The abundance of bonds has pushed down prices in the secondary market and caused tax-exempt bonds to perform more poorly than benchmark government securities. The Bond Buyer 40 general obligation bond index showed municipal bonds yielding 7.72 percent on Friday, the highest since Nov. 11, 1990. Meanwhile, the yield on the benchmark 30-year Treasury bond reached 8.16 percent on Friday.

Like the government bond market, prices of municipal bonds have dropped because of concern that the economy is expanding at a pace that will lead to an acceleration of inflation, which diminishes the value of fixed-rate assets.

Municipal bonds have done worse than benchmark Treasury bonds in the past few weeks in part because of the unwinding of leveraged positions and a tax-exempt bond market that has become more difficult to trade in, said Joseph Deane, who manages more than \$3 billion in municipal bonds for the Greenwich Investors division of Smith Barney Inc.

At the same time, investors pulled cash from tax-exempt mutual funds as the net value of their assets eroded.

Investors withdrew \$532 million from municipal bond mutual funds in the week ended Wednesday, according to AMG Services, an Arcata, California, company that tracks fund cash flows. The previous week, investors withdrew \$930 million from mutual funds. This was the seventh consecutive week that funds had withdrawals.

Fate of the Dollar Hinges on Fed Policy Decision

By Carl Gewirtz

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The dollar is poised either to rally or collapse. Analysts say that the outcome depends entirely on whether U.S. interest rates are raised by more than the half-percentage-point increase that is already widely expected within the next few days.

Among those analysts who have been predicting a rise of half a percentage point, or 50 basis points, in the cost of overnight money, the view now is that an increase of at least 75 basis points is needed to convince the market that the United States is serious about containing inflation and defending its currency.

The next official move on interest rates is expected to occur anytime after federal elections on Tuesday and the policy-

making meeting of the Federal Reserve Board on Nov. 15.

Knowingly or not, the U.S. Treasury dramatically increased the stakes in what the Fed does by the unorthodox style of the interventions it ordered the Federal Reserve Bank

NEWS ANALYSIS

of New York to conduct last week to support the dollar. The Fed alone sets interest rates, but exchange rate policy is a political decision.

The unwritten rules of the game call for intervention to be coordinated with other central banks, to be limited to catch speculators wrong-footed and to be backed by policy changes. The first two conditions were not met.

At the Treasury's instruction, the New York Fed spent an

estimated \$2 billion in repeated single-handed forays Wednesday and Thursday to lift the dollar above its postwar low of 96.10 yen and a near two-year low of 1.4910 Deutsche marks.

The only other central bank in the market was the Bank of Japan, which has been intervening virtually daily for most of this year trying to slow the appreciation of the yen. While the German and French central banks welcomed the Fed's action, concerted intervention is seen as unlikely until Washington takes more aggressive measures to restore confidence.

The Fed's intervention was conducted as European markets closed — when trading volume is normally moderate. This enabled the Fed to lift the dollar from its mid-week lows to a closing level on Friday of 97.45 yen and 1.5140 DM.

The strategy also was flawed because there were no large short positions in the market. These are speculative positions taken by borrowing dollars to sell with the intention of buying them back at a profit, after the dollar has dropped. Such speculators are easily frightened out of their positions by intervention and their rush to get out of the market can create a buying bandwagon that feeds on itself. But currency dealers agreed that there had been no buildup of such short positions and therefore no bandwagon effect.

Because two key ingredients deemed necessary for success were missing, the intervention has fanned expectations for a substantial policy change — a larger rate increase by the Fed than had been earlier expected. "In the opinion of market participants," says BHF Bank

in Frankfurt, "a clear signal that the growing danger of inflation is being fought necessitates an interest-rate signal exceeding the 50 basis points already anticipated. Only a clear signal would support the recovery of the dollar."

Without such a signal, agrees Joe Prendergast at Paribas Capital Markets in London, the U.S. intervention "is doomed to failure."

Brandon Brown, at Mitsubishi Finance in London, warns that an increase of only half a percentage point will be taken as a signal "for a big sell-off of the dollar unless there are big hints that there will be another half-point increase in December."

Jim O'Neill, Swiss Bank Corp.'s London-based analyst who is a long-standing pessimist on the dollar's outlook,

agrees that a Fed increase of more than a half-point would calm the currency market. An increase of one percentage point by the end of the year "would make me think that we've seen the bottom for a considerable number of months" in the value of the dollar, he says.

However, Mr. O'Neill says he believes that an increase of 50 basis points — and further downward pressure on the dollar — "is most likely."

The problem is that under the direction of Alan Greenspan, the Fed has only once moved rates by more than 50 basis points — when it cut rates 75 basis points after the stock market collapse in October 1987. While a big move now might calm the currency and bond

See DOLLAR, Page 11

McDonald's Launches McDelivery

By Bruce Weber

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The ultimate in convenience food is apparently no longer convenient enough. Accelerating down the fast-food superhighway, McDonald's is about to begin making home and office deliveries from 40 of its Manhattan restaurants, with orders taken over the phone at a single computerized clearinghouse.

Beginning next week, it will be possible to call in to a sort of burger hot line and have a double bacon cheeseburger or a fish sandwich delivered to your door from whatever McDonald's is closest.

McDonald's Corp., which began making hamburgers in 1955, now has more than 13,000 restaurants in 65 countries. Ironically, the ubiquitous restaurants are now apparently not ubiquitous enough, at least not in New York City, where delis and restaurants of every stripe now regularly deliver their goods.

McDonald's Corp. and other companies have experimented with delivery networks in smaller markets, and individual franchise owners in Manhattan and elsewhere have provided their own delivery service.

But this is the first time that McDonald's has tried to link such a large number of outlets.

The first 10 restaurants will be on line beginning at 8 A.M. Monday, with 28 more joining what a company representative called "our new McDelivery service" the following Monday; two new restaurants, which are to open by the end

'We're trying to recapture some of the business we lose when it rains, when it snows, or when it's 105 degrees.'

David C. Hawthorne, president of McDonald's Manhattan Delivery Service

of the year, also will be part of the burger network.

The service, to operate from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M., is aimed more at people who are at work than those who are at home.

"We're trying to recapture some of the business we lose when it rains, when it snows, or when it's 105 degrees and nobody wants to go outside," said David C. Hawthorne, president of McDonald's Manhattan Delivery Service, a consor-

tium of franchise owners who are operating the service with financial support from McDonald's Corp.

The hub of the delivery operation — burger central, as it were — is a midtown office newly outfitted with rows of computer terminals. For security reasons, the company asked that the location of the computer center, like the ingredients in its famed secret sauce, remain undisclosed.

The way it is supposed to work is that each caller will first be asked for an address; the operator will plug the address into the computer, which will respond with the location and the menu of the closest participating franchise.

The caller will then give the order, which will be relayed by modem to the restaurant, where it will appear on a printer, to be prepared and dispatched.

The order must be worth a minimum of \$10. There will be no delivery charge, and deliveries should be made within half an hour of the call, although McDonald's is mindful that this is a new service and is making no guarantees.

The delivery people, who are to be regular McDonald's employees, will travel only on foot or by bicycle. Mr. Hawthorne said keeping food hot would not be a problem because it would be carried in thermal bags.

Growth Saps Job-Creation Effort, EU Frets

By Tom Buerkle

International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — The European Union is struggling to keep its war on unemployment alive as the economic recovery lessens the urgency for action, EU officials said.

EU finance ministers will review two major reports here Monday criticizing their governments for being too timid in cutting payroll taxes, promoting more flexible working-time arrangements and developing new job opportunities in such areas as local services and the environment.

The reports warn that economic growth, although solidly established, is not enough to reduce the bloc's 10.7 percent jobless rate.

"Progress so far remains far from sufficient" to meet the EU goal of creating 15 million jobs and reducing unemployment to 6 percent to 8 percent by 2000, says one report by the European Commission, the Union's executive body. A copy of the report was obtained by the International Herald Tribune.

Separately, arguments over money continue to bog down a companion EU initiative to boost competitiveness by building 11 cross-border road and rail networks, with Germany, Britain and the Netherlands effectively vetoing any borrowing scheme that could jump-start construction, officials said.

A letter to finance ministers from Henning Christophersen, the commissioner in charge of the networks, said project planning was "far from complete," but added that ministers should

begin considering whether to make equity investments or long-term loans to meet some of the projected 35.5 billion European currency units (\$44.7 billion) in costs this decade.

The warning on joblessness comes as strong exports and investment are brightening Europe's economic outlook.

Output in the EU's 12 member nations, which fell by 0.5 percent last year, is projected to rise by about 2 percent this year and up to 3 percent in 1995.

The report credits the recovery to measures aimed at curbing government deficits and restraining pay increases. And growth so far has had some impact on dole lines, reducing unemployment from a postwar peak of 11 percent in May.

But commission officials fear that progress will halt political leaders into complacency and spell the death of the White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment.

Jacques Delors, the commission president, made the paper the centerpiece of EU policy-making last fall and will press for more action in his valedictory address at the Union's summit meeting in Essen, Germany, next month.

Europe's jobs problem has not diminished. The recession is to blame for fewer than 2 in 10 of the more than 17 million unemployed. Of the rest, nearly half have been out of work for more than a year.

Despite the problem, the commission report found that member countries came up short in the seven policy areas targeted by the White Paper.

DEC Tries a New Form of Networking

By Laurie Flynn

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — If information systems managers have learned one thing, it's that PCs don't come cheap — even considering today's fire sale prices.

Maintenance and repairs, as well as the constant need to upgrade software, quickly adds to the cost. And there is the expense of employee training and dealing with frayed nerves when the computers malfunction, as they inevitably do.

But Digital Equipment Corp. thinks it has the answer: When it comes to using PCs on a network, forget the ordinary personal computer.

With an announcement this week, Digital hopes to sell the world on its new line of Multia computers, which have been de-

signed to run in complex situations involving a variety of PCs and operating systems.

Multia, Digital says, makes centralized management a breeze because everything is built in — yet the user sees only a collection of innocuous-looking icons. And instead of needing more than one workstation or PC, support technicians have only one machine to contend with.

Based on Microsoft's Windows NT program, the Multia line can run both off-the-shelf Windows applications as well as programs written for the Unix operating system.

"This is not the kind of product that is going to blow things away," said Michael Gould, editor in chief at the Patricia Seybold Group, "but it's easy." Mr. Gould worked as a consultant with Digital on the project.

Larry Cabrinety, a Digital vice president, said, "It gives the systems manager complete control." Maintenance costs are also lower. According to him, the annual cost to maintain the Multia is only about \$120. "If you want to do networked computing, this is the most effective way."

As often happens with Digital's products, analysts praise its technical merits. But the company of late has had its share of problems translating strong technology into sales.

The other major feature of the new platform — the fact that it supports many operating systems — is also a boon to weary information managers, Digital officials say.

London Notebook

Clouds Clearing for Industry

Over the next five years British manufacturing — something which many pundits have long and loudly claimed bordered on an oxymoron — is set for its greatest growth spurt in nearly three decades.

That is the central theme of a new forecast from the London Business School's Center for Economic Forecasting due out on Monday. The report envisions industrial growth averaging 4.3 percent each year from 1994 through 1998 — more than enough to reverse the decades-long slide of the manufacturing sector.

Since the end of World War II, British manufacturing has only once beat that expected pace of expansion — from 1964 to 1968.

Andrew Sentance, the senior research fellow who was one of the report's authors, stressed that it would be hard for industry to do anything but prosper. "If manufacturing cannot do well in the conditions we have now, they must be doing something very wrong," he said.

He said the condition known as "British disease," characterized by everything from massively poor labor relations to low productivity, was a thing of the past.

Docklands Look More Enticing

London's troubled property market is firming up even in the most unlikely of places. Last week the good news even caught up with the massive and unprofitable Canary Wharf office development in London's docklands.

Sir Peter Levene, the head of Canary Wharf, announced that 350,000 square feet of vacant space had been rented and that negotiations for the lease of an additional half million square feet were well advanced.

Property analysts say that the owners of large office blocks in hard-to-get-to and even harder-to-rent locations like the docklands are at last benefiting from the dearth of office construction in the past few years.

"There is increasing evidence of a shortage of new space in buildings of more than 100,000 square feet," said Peter Evans, re-

search director at Debenham Thorpe, a property agent.

New office space will not be on the market for at least two or three years, giving projects like 4.5 million square foot Canary Wharf a window of opportunity, Mr. Evans said.

Juicy Tidbits for Data Junkies

There is good news in the offering for those who have always wondered about Britain's output of everything from yogurt and cheese to rear view mirrors, coffins and even sawdust. Such juicy statistical tidbits and much, much more will soon be available on CD-ROM courtesy of a new joint venture between Britain's doyens of data, the Central Statistical Office, and a private market research firm.

Late this month, the government will launch "UK Markets," a new venture with Taylor Nelson AGB, one of Britain's largest market research companies. In the process, Whitehall will demonstrate that in spite of its now abandoned plans to privatize the postal service its affection for the private sector limps on.

For devotees of data, the news will be a mixed bag. While Taylor Nelson promises more "user friendly" reports, offerings that for the first time will include graphs and even commentary, such niceties will come at a price. "In the past, these reports have been sold at prices that did not even cover the cost of printing," said John Cunningham, the head of publications at Taylor Nelson. No more.

"The information will be more expensive," said Mr. Cunningham, who hastened to point out that most of the data will be sold to deep-pocketed companies and institutions, not individuals.

Taylor Nelson will be churning out 97 annual reports and 35 quarterly reports covering British imports, exports and manufacturing, all broken down into 5,000 different individual products.

Erik Ipsen

OMEGA

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1. The first section of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in the management of the organization's resources. The section also outlines the procedures for reporting and reviewing these records on a regular basis.

2. The second section focuses on the financial management of the organization. It details the budgeting process, including the identification of revenue sources and the allocation of funds to various departments and projects. The section also addresses the importance of monitoring expenses and ensuring that the organization remains within its budget.

3. The third section discusses the human resources management of the organization. It covers the recruitment and selection process, as well as the training and development of staff. The section also addresses the importance of maintaining a positive work environment and promoting employee well-being.

4. The fourth section discusses the legal and regulatory compliance of the organization. It outlines the various laws and regulations that the organization must adhere to, and the steps that must be taken to ensure compliance. The section also addresses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all legal and regulatory activities.

5. The fifth section discusses the information technology management of the organization. It covers the selection and implementation of IT systems, as well as the maintenance and security of these systems. The section also addresses the importance of ensuring that all IT systems are up-to-date and secure.

6. The sixth section discusses the marketing and sales management of the organization. It covers the development of marketing strategies and the implementation of sales programs. The section also addresses the importance of monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of these programs.

7. The seventh section discusses the overall management of the organization. It covers the various aspects of management, including planning, organizing, leading, and controlling. The section also addresses the importance of maintaining a clear vision and mission for the organization, and the steps that must be taken to achieve these goals.

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Speed is tempting, but both the cost of developing a successor to Concorde and the future environmental effects of fleets of such planes are worrying.

Critics say that the droop-

NASA beats the drum
NASA, never one to shrink from megabillion-dollar projects, will be putting up \$1.5 billion over the next five years to fund research by Boeing and McDonnell Douglas and the big U.S. engine makers. The new in-

For the aircraft industry, the thought of a market worth \$200 billion or more in 2015 that could create 140,000 jobs is mouthwatering. NASA has awarded a \$440 million contract to Boeing and McDonnell

Honeywell will receive \$75 million to develop flight decks. In another move to accelerate the program, which began in 1990, NASA has signed with Russia's Tupolev Design Bureau to use the TU 144 supersonic as a flying test bed. NASA personnel will begin

Mr. Gallois estimates that 15 years from now, passenger traffic will be four times the level it had reached when the Concorde was

A more down-to-earth problem is cost. How will cash-strapped airlines find the \$250 million, twice the price of a 747, for a new supersonic? The supersonic lobby says that tickets should cost only 20 percent more than present subsonic rates.

September 2000, the first time the pope has visited the United States since his election in 1978. The pope's visit to the United States is the first time a pope has visited the United States since his election in 1978. The pope's visit to the United States is the first time a pope has visited the United States since his election in 1978.



**AUSTRIAN
AIRLINES**

هيكنا من الامل

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Source: † VMA Surveys '92/'93. * Reader Survey '94.

AIR TRAVEL

LINKING BETTER SERVICE WITH HIGHER PROFITS

For frequent flyers, better seats are top priority.

Corporate traveler Mark Taylor of Britain is the kind of frequent flier the world's airlines, big and small, are seeking to lure back into their front-of-the-plane business classes. He downgraded to economy class during the recession, but penned these thoughts to an airline magazine:

"There must be many others who, like myself, are quite happy with economy service, but would pay a bit more for a comfortable seat to stretch out in," he wrote.

Airlines have listened to the Mark Taylors among their customers and are spending a small fortune on the installation of better seats. These are wider, often with adjustable head rests, back supports, greater angle of recline, more legroom and, occasionally, footrests. In some cases, there are pop-out videos and connections for personal computers and fax machines.

Industry developments
Global traffic is running higher, with IATA predicting a 6.4 percent increase in passengers carried and the 24-member Association of European Airlines announcing an 8.5 percent increase in traffic in the first half of 1994. Traffic inside Europe was up by 9.1 percent, and between Europe and the Middle East by 9.8 percent.

New airports at Denver, Osaka, Munich, Warsaw and other cities have been built for the rising traffic. Chicago, Manila, Amsterdam, Frankfurt and Rome are among those being extended. Charles de Gaulle in Paris has linked with the TGV express train.

The opening this month of a new Austrian Airlines service to Krakow is further proof of growing business and tourist traffic to Eastern Europe. Austrian Airlines, a pioneer of east-bound flights in Cold War days, has reaped the benefit of its investment and is now carrying half a million passengers a year to some 17 destinations in Central and Eastern Europe, including Russia, the CIS and the Baltic states.

Airlines, meanwhile, continue their long quest for

profitability. Alliances have been struck, the most notable example being the link between United, Lufthansa and Thai to create a so-called seamless world service. British Airways has chosen a different path, taking equity stakes in USAir, Qantas and a string of small European carriers. Air mile schemes have become more generous.

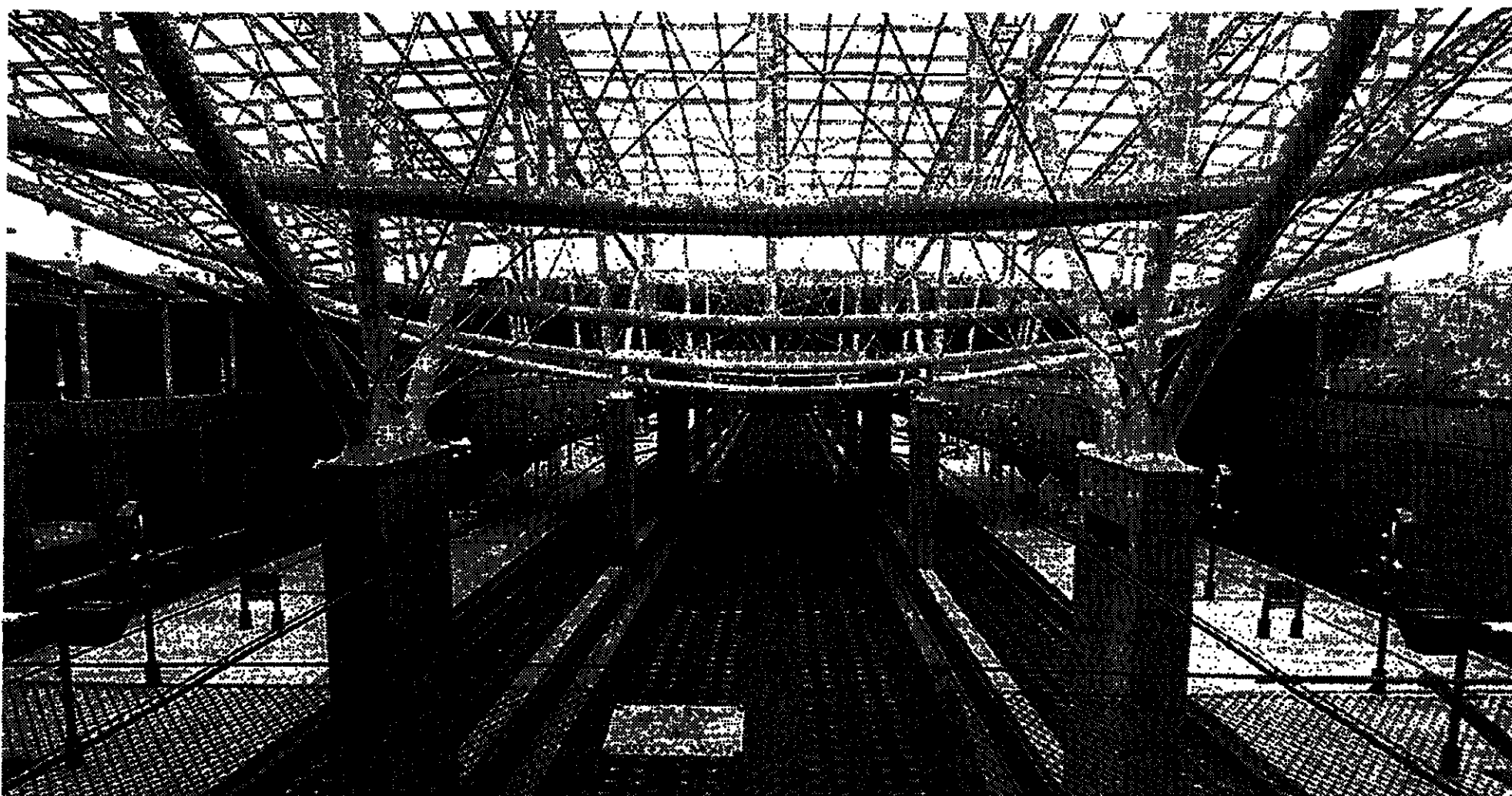
Smaller planes preferred
Jumbo jets are yielding ground to aircraft of the 250-300 seat variety, such as Boeing's existing 767 and the upcoming 777. From late 1995, new "Triple 7s" will be able to carry some 310 passengers up to 7,000 miles nonstop. The plane, built with the aid of Dassault's engineering software and Japanese heavy industry, is Boeing's answer to airline demands for a wide-bodied jet smaller than the 747 that could compete with McDonnell Douglas's MD11 (a derivative of the DC10) and the Airbus 340.

Regional carriers have invested in 100-seaters for intercity markets. The Franco-Italian ATR is the most successful. Smaller Swedish Saab 340 turbo props have been selling well. American Eagle, the Dallas-based feeder to American Airlines, now has 116. Some regional lines in Europe were ahead of their big brothers in introducing greater seat comfort. The trend, says Ian Verchère, author of the authoritative "The Air Transport Industry in Crisis," is toward "lower capacity aircraft and greater frequency."

Major U.S. airlines — American, Delta, United and Northwest — have been making money recently, as have their Asian counterparts, but not enough, by any means, to wipe out the heavy losses of the past four years.

More value for money
New seats, starting with the airline's 767s and 777s, are the priority of British Airways' £70 million (\$108 million) reorganization of its Club Europe business-class service.

Swissair's new seats are generally considered the



The newly opened line that links Charles de Gaulle airport, Paris, with the TGV express train that will carry a traveler elsewhere in Europe.

best, along with those of KLM in its World Business Class. Like many other airlines, KLM has dropped its first-class section and says its new business service has attracted 30 percent more corporate travelers.

Lufthansa, implementing the findings of a poll in which 80 percent of business travelers said they wanted more leg and elbow room, now has better seats, and its ground engineers can quickly change the configuration, yanking out a seat to create extra space. It is perhaps no coincidence that the airline is now showing a profit for the first time since 1989.

The aim of airlines in 1994 can be summed up as "More value for the same money." But discounts and consolidator fares can sometimes mean that business

travelers spend less. They are also being wooed by telephones, parking lot check-in, more and better lounges, and pick-up services. Seat comfort, however, is all-important.

Mixed messages on fares
The results are there. "Despite some recent indications to the contrary, business-class travel is on the increase," says John Chaplin, vice president for market development at Visa International, commenting on a survey of 2,000 frequent business travelers.

"Some 27 percent claimed that, over the past year, they had made more trips than in the previous 12 months, compared to 19 percent making less."

Although the price of an airline ticket may not be the

determining factor for European business travelers in choosing a class of travel, Mr. Chaplin believes that the extra charged for "deluxe" service should be nearer the 25-50 percent mark-up in the hotel industry, and not the double or quadruple rates that airlines have officially quoted for business-class travel.

James Foster, of the London travel agency First Call Business Travel, says that, while published fares are being maintained or even raised slightly, the reality is that the business traveler can obtain reductions of up to 60 percent by looking for discounts, consolidator fares and other forms of discounting unsold seats.

The trade is now selling seats at reduced rates, just like the old bucket shops,

while the airlines are openly discounting," says Mr. Foster. "We rarely sell a full fare to Boston, for example, and you can buy a business-class return ticket to Australia for £1,500, as against the official £3,600."

Business Traveler magazine stated recently: "A combination of market forces and currency fluctuations has distorted European airfares to the extent that executives who buy wisely can sample business-class service for less than the economy fare. Better still, they can book a round-trip ticket for less than the one-way fare."

On the ground, hotels are fine-tuning prices and business services for the air traveler, although, like the airlines, they are anxious about yields. The new Hilton at Charles de Gaulle airport,

Paris, with its 20 high-tech conference rooms and culinary delights, such as a luxurious oyster bar, is set to challenge airport hotels in London and Frankfurt.

Prince Al-Waleed Bin Talal Bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, of Saudi Arabia, now part-owner of the luxury Four Seasons chain, is consolidating the business charm of grand London hotels, such as the Regent and the Four Seasons. The latter has converted its famous conserva-

tory suites into bedroom-offices, and airline assistance is now on a par with advice on London tailoring.

Tokyo's Okura Hotel has an ingenious "jet-lag-fighting plan" for short-stay guests. Dr. Misuo Sasaki, an expert in the matter, supervises stretching, a jet-stream bath and body sonic system followed by relaxation with a personalized pillow and bright light therapy.

TURNING THE CORNER					
The corporate financial results of IATA airlines, in billion \$					
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Operating revenues	144.5	193.2	188.2	200.8	217.4
Operating expenses	140.2	192.4	187.0	201.2	214.7
Operating result	4.3	0.8	-0.8	-0.6	2.7

Source: IATA Market and Economic Analysis Division

DANGERS AND DELIGHTS OF BUSINESS TRAVEL

Business travel is a double-edged sword. It can be a source of stress and exhaustion, but it can also be a source of excitement and adventure. The dangers of business travel are well-known: jet lag, fatigue, and the risk of illness. But the delights are just as real: the chance to see new places, meet new people, and experience new cultures. Business travel is a necessary part of many careers, and it can be a rewarding experience if you know how to manage it. The key is to stay healthy and energized, even when you're on the road. This means getting enough sleep, eating well, and staying hydrated. It also means taking breaks and staying active. Business travel doesn't have to be a chore. With the right mindset and preparation, it can be a fun and exciting part of your life.

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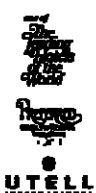
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Continued on Page 15

**For investment
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every Saturday
in the NYT**

هكذا من اجل

MONDAY
SPORTS55.291 Kilometers:
Rominger Smashes
Hour Cycling MarkBy Samuel Abt
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The numbers added up, the mathematics worked, and so it was tempting to believe that Tony Rominger, who adores sitting at his computer to program victories on the bicycle, was certain to break his own record for the hour's ride against the clock. Tempting but naive.

When Rominger, the 33-year-old Swiss who is ranked first among the world's professional racers, mounted the indoor track in Bordeaux on Saturday, he knew the numbers: Each push of his bicycle's enormous gear would propel him 9.02 meters (9.8 yards). If he could maintain a cadence of 102 revolutions a minute, he would travel 55.2 kilometers (34.3 miles) in an hour. That would outdo by nearly a kilometer and a half the record he set two weeks earlier.

Check and double check. In a 27-minute test on Wednesday, Rominger easily exceeded his record pace and said afterward: "Why hide it, I feel terrific. When it comes to power, I feel I've got it. I'm relaxed and confident, the record is already mine but I'm staying concentrated and motivated."

Because the cautious Rominger rarely speaks that way, his words were respected. Nothing to it.

Yet the hour's ride — a man alone on the track, racing only against himself and the clock — is the biggest physical and mental challenge in the sport. Since Henri Desgrange established the record of 35.325 kilometers in 1893, it has been pushed up in fractions by such champions as Oscar Egg (42.360 kilometers in 1912), Fausto Coppi (45.848 kilometers in 1942), Jacques Anquetil (46.159 kilometers in 1956) and Eddy Merckx (49.431 kilometers in 1972). Not until 1984, when Francesco Moser rode with the first disc wheel in Mexico City, was the 50-kilometer barrier broken.

These riders usually spent weeks, if not months, preparing to attack the record, as Miguel Indurain did late this summer, when he skipped a world championship road race that seemed designed for him so that he could concentrate on acclimating himself to the track. Riders also usually use special bicycles built for the occasion, as Indurain did and Chris Boardman and Graeme Obree before him.

All three succeeded — Obree traveled 51.596 kilometers in July 1993, Boardman 52.270 kilometers later that same month, Obree again, 52.713 kilometers last April, then Indurain at 53.040 kilometers in September. On Oct. 22, Rominger covered 53.832 kilometers on the same quarter-kilometer track in Bordeaux that was used by his three predecessors.

A mighty time trier in road races, the Swiss was nevertheless a bit of a surprise breaker of the record since he used what amounted to a standard bicycle and chose to practice on the road, not the track. When Rominger set off Saturday in Bordeaux, he had a mere eight hours' experience on the boards.

By the time his total reached nine, he had not just broken the record but smashed it. As Laurent Fignon, the retired winner of two Tours de France who now is a television commentator, repeatedly said, Rominger pulverized the record.

He covered 55.291 kilometers — an astonishing 1.459 kilometers farther than his own world record and 2.251 kilometers farther than Indurain's.

"Personally, I didn't think I could beat 55 kilometers," Rominger said. "I thought that if I did well, I might do 54.6 kilometers. I really hit the limits. I suffered a lot more this time than the first time."

Thrusting a microphone toward him, Fignon wanted to know whether Rominger had pulverized the record because of desire. The Swiss credited concentration.

"I especially tried to keep up my concentration," he said. That and his legs, as he pushed the 60 X 14 gear that only Obree has exceeded.

Why then does Rominger surpass Indurain so easily on the track and lose to him in the time trials of the Tour de France, which the Spaniard has won for the last four years?

Part of the answer is that Rominger is better suited to the track at 65 kilograms (143 pounds), 15 kilograms less than Indurain. The Swiss's tight aerodynamic position never wavered Saturday.

And, as Fignon pointed out, the hour's ride is a solitary affair. Rominger did not have to worry that a rival — so often Indurain — would be leaving two minutes after him, learning his times at checkpoints and boring into his lead.

The pressure on Rominger could only be self-inflicted and he seemed not to have applied it. As Cyrille Guimard, the head of the Castorama team and a man who has guided three riders to victories in the Tour de France, put it: "The only one who could beat Rominger? Rominger."

Stephen Roche, the Irishman who won the Tour in 1987, was another notable at trackside.

"People used to say that Miguel Indurain came from another planet," Roche commented. "If so, where does Rominger come from?"

For now there is no answer. It may come in July, when the Tour de France begins in Brittany, with Indurain again favored and Rominger again his main rival.

Until then, Rominger will feast on his triumph on the track. After he completed his hour, he took some victory laps, holding up a finger — I'm No. 1 — to the few thousand fans. The boast was so arypical of Rominger that he changed to a full-handed wave before, with what for him was great audacity, he once again raised the solitary finger.

Rolling Past Rosset, Agassi Climbs to No. 2 Ranking

By Christopher Clarey
Special to the Herald Tribune

PARIS — Andre Agassi has led the tennis world up this steep, slippery slope before. At age 24, he has made more than his share of comebacks.

It is perhaps too large a leap of faith to state that this time will be different, but on Sunday, as he sat in the bowels of the Palais Omnisports de Paris Bercy with the television lights reflecting off his damp and familiar beard, there was an unmistakable whiff of permanence in the air.

This version of Agassi not only says the right things. He says them calmly and with conviction, and it is that as much as his unearthly reflexes and baseline power that should send a chill up the spine of Pete Sampras, the world's top-ranked tennis player.

"I always felt like when I was succeeding in the past, it was more of a relief," Agassi said after dispatching Switzerland's Marc Rosset in four sets to win the Paris Open. "It was like, 'If I do well this week, it buys me some time.' But now, it's like I wish I had to beat six guys in this tournament instead of five. I think that is the biggest difference: just my mindset. I want to be nowhere else but out there playing, and that is a great feeling to have."

Agassi's victory was his third in his last four tournaments, a streak that began with his emotional run to the U.S. Open title in September. He was unseeded at Flushing Meadows and only 20th in the rankings when it began.

But he is now on a roll and Sunday's victory vaulted him



Andre Agassi dispatched Marc Rosset in four sets on Sunday to win the Paris Open, his fifth victory of the year.

past such familiar, more consistent performers as Stefan Edberg and Boris Becker into the No. 2 spot.

Agassi has never been so close to the top. Not in 1988, when he took the piranha-eat-piranha tennis world and the hearts of many an adolescent

girl by storm with his two-toned hair and flashy forehand, topping out at No. 3. Not in 1992, when he roared back from a crisis of confidence to win his first Grand Slam title, at staid Wimbledon of all places, and finished the year at No. 9.

"I really don't have any reaction to being No. 2," said Agassi, who has openly set his sights on Sampras's spot. "I feel it is like serving for the match. You just continue doing what it is that got you that far and don't change anything: don't lose sight of your daily

goals. I mean I think it is a great accomplishment, but I am not going to really sit back and appreciate it until this year is done. There is another big tournament left, and it is an important one."

Although Agassi is not prepared to rest on his new laurels

until after next week's ATP Tour World Championships in Frankfurt, he clearly agrees with the computer's evaluation of his form. Asked if he was playing his best tennis ever, he answered, "Absolutely."

Getting the chance to play day after day has taken on new importance in the last two years for Agassi. An injured right wrist wrecked his 1993 season. He opted for an operation and returned to the circuit in Scottsdale, Arizona in February, his ranking at 32 and his ambitions firmly in check.

"I wanted to see if I could break into the top 25 this year," Agassi said. "At that stage, I was thinking only along the lines of, 'I love the game; I have missed the game, and I am committed to the game.' I was willing to accept anything that came."

A year ago, Agassi probably would not have gotten the chance to play Sampras in the quarterfinals on Friday and beat him 7-6, 7-5. Yes, the Taraflex court in Bercy was slow enough for Becker to call it the "Indoor French Open." Yes, Sampras is coming back from an injury. But Sampras has seen enough of Agassi on all surfaces to know excellence when he confronts it.

"He is going to be tough to beat tomorrow, and tough to beat for the next 10 years," Sampras said magnanimously after his defeat. "I think it is a rivalry that I hope turns into something special because I think we kind of bring out the best in each other."

Their sport could ask for nothing more.

A Blast From the Past Sends Foreman Into Boxing History

By Tim Kawakami
Los Angeles Times Service

LAS VEGAS — It was a one-punch blast from the past, and after it landed, everything was chaos and uproar, devastation and jubilation.

A single historic, shattering punch knocked Michael Moorer out and, for 10 wild seconds and beyond, sent the boxing world flying off its axis.

George Foreman, his left eye badly swollen, his 45-year-old legs giving way but his heart and power unquestioned, threw a 10th-round right hand that landed on Moorer's chin Saturday night and toppled him backward to the floor, arms splayed and feet in the air, for the 10-second count and many more.

With that self-described "ham hock to the chin" at 2:03 of the 10th, Foreman made the past the future, altered the course of boxing history, and became the oldest heavyweight champion who ever lived.

Then, with aftershocks still rolling through the MGM Grand Garden, and his brother, Roy, recovered after fainting amid the celebration, the old

man, the International Boxing Federation and World Boxing Association champion, spoke about his past, his hope and his joy. The future he left for others to contemplate.

"I've been heavyweight champion before, so I know the feeling," Foreman said. "But this has been the greatest moment of my life."

Describing the bout, he said: "First, I took it easy, then I mounted the punishment. He couldn't take it anymore, and he never should've stayed in front of me. I'm a straight right-handed puncher and sooner or later I hit you."

What's next for the man who came into the ring as the most popular fighter in the sport and left it as its most unspeakably dramatic?

"I'm taking it one day at a time," Foreman said. "My main goal was to be champion of the world once again, and stop being introduced as the former heavyweight champ of the world. Now, I will always be introduced as the heavyweight champion of the world."

Foreman wasn't speaking about fu-

ture opponents, but he surely could gain title defenses against anybody that he and his promoter, Bob Arum, choose.

Foreman (73-4, 68 knockouts) entered the fight with strong public support and a puncher's chance against the previously undefeated Moorer, 26. Foreman entered the ring to a raucous standing ovation. Moorer received scattered boos and applause.

Once Moorer began looking comfortable and in control, and kept dominating until the last blast, even the doubts about his shaky chin seemed to evaporate simply because Foreman could not strike him cleanly.

That only set up the drama. Foreman, at times in the early going, looked slow and unable to find Moorer with the all-important right — similar to the way he lost to Tommy Morrison 17 months ago in his last fight.

The left-handed Moorer spliced Foreman's front attack with snapping right jabs that swelled up Foreman's left eye and an in-and-out movement that brought his right hand onto Foreman's chin several times.

Moorer scored with a heavy overhand right in the third round, sending Foreman backpedaling. It would not be the last time Moorer's crisp blows staggered Foreman.

According to CompuBox Inc. statistics, through the first nine rounds, Moorer landed 243 jabs to Foreman's 103, and connected with 348 total punches — 149 more than Foreman.

At the time of the knockout, Moorer led by five points on two judges' cards and by one point on the third.

"It didn't even matter," Foreman said of all the rounds he knew he was losing. "I wasn't ever going for the score. I was keeping the jab up and waiting, watching his face."

Throughout the fight, Moorer's trainer, Teddy Atlas, warned his fighter, 28 pounds (12.5 kilograms) lighter than Foreman, to take better care to circle to his right and stay away from Foreman's potent right hand, the main weapon that has given Foreman the greatest knockout record in the history of the heavyweight division.

With his left eye almost swollen shut — "I didn't feel urgency, I felt half-blind," Foreman said — the ninth was Foreman's most inactive round as Moorer bounced jabs off his face.

But Foreman, sensing something, opened the 10th firing his right and caught Moorer twice in the first moments of the round. Moorer recovered, then appeared to relax and stepped slowly backward after fending off a soft Foreman parry almost one minute into the round.

Foreman, pouncing on the chance he had awaited, stuck a left jab into Moorer's face, then released the most important punch of his life, a punch that struck with a dull thud and a monstrous audience roar.

"He didn't see the punch coming," Atlas said. "It was the best punch George threw all night. That's what we were afraid of."

Afterward, Moorer (35-1), whose motivation to fight has been questioned before, said he would have to think about whether he will fight again. And he was calm and matter-of-fact explaining the loss.

Navratilova Rallies to Gain Final

The Associated Press

OAKLAND, California (AP) — Martina Navratilova rallied again in the Bank of the West Classic, surviving 15 aces by Debbie Graham to reach the final with a 3-6, 6-2, 7-5 victory.

Navratilova, who has lost the first set in each of her three victories, was to face Arantxa Sanchez Vicario in Sunday's final. Sanchez Vicario defeated Lindsay Davenport, 6-2, 4-6, 6-3, in the semifinals.

This is the next-to-last tournament for Navratilova, 38, who has a record 167 singles titles. She is to retire after the Virginia Slims Championships, which begin Nov. 14 in New York.

SIDELINES

Weather Cancels Ski Cup Races

SAAS FEE, Switzerland (AP) — Adverse weather conditions spoiled the opening of the Alpine skiing World Cup, forcing Swiss organizers to cancel Sunday's women's slalom the day after cancellation of the men's parallel slalom.

Winds, snow and fog prevented preparation of the slalom course on glaciers at 3,500 meters (11,500 feet) and swept away hopes of organizers to possibly postpone the women's race to Monday. The World Cup weekend in the Swiss resort was decided by the International Ski Federation as a rehearsal for the Cup races beginning Nov. 26-27 in Sestriere, Italy, for men and Park City, Utah, for women.

The federation on Sunday rescheduled the men's World Cup downhill race by German organizers in Garmisch to the Swiss resort of Crans Montana on Jan. 6. The Garmisch women's downhill was switched to Cortina D'Ampezzo, Italy, which will stage two downhill and a giant slalom on Jan. 20-22.

Ban on Kenyan Runner Is Upheld

MONTE CARLO (AP) — An arbitration panel has upheld the four-year ban on John Ngugi, the five-time world cross-country champion, who refused to submit to an out-of-competition doping test 21 months ago.

The Kenyan runner, the 5,000-meter gold medalist at the 1988 Olympics, had appealed the ban handed down last year by the International Amateur Athletic Federation. He had argued that the IAAF violated Kenyan regulations when he was approached at his home and asked to submit a urine sample on Feb. 13, 1993.

Seven days after his refusal, Ngugi, in the presence of Kenyan officials, submitted to the test. The sample proved negative, but the IAAF cited his initial refusal in handing down the automatic four-year suspension.

Another Clash in Baseball's Ranks

NEW YORK (AP) — Before getting back together at the bargaining table next week, Major League Baseball players and owners clashed again over strike-related pay.

The players union has filed another grievance and default notices against teams in an effort to get pay for 30 players on the disabled list during the strike. Even so, the two sides continued to talk about next week's bargaining sessions, which are to start Thursday. Players and owners agreed to move the talks to New York from Washington.

Murdoch to Back a Rugby League

SYDNEY (AFP) — Australian rugby league clubs will be offered 2 million Australian dollars (\$1.46 million) each to join a proposed super league, funded by the media mogul Rupert Murdoch's News Ltd., news reports said Sunday.

Plans for the reported elite league, fielding 10 to 12 teams, is expected to be unveiled later this week, the Sun Herald reported.

For the Record

Johnny Nelson of Britain outpointed Nicolai Kulpin of Kazakhstan to retain his WBF heavyweight crown Sunday in Bangkok in a split decision.

Faldo Is Disqualified After Leading Bali Golf

Reuters

NUSA DUA, Bali — Nick Faldo blamed no one but himself for being disqualified Sunday from the Alfred Dunhill Masters golf tournament. The error cost him a huge payday and his second tournament victory of the year, as John Kay of Canada went on to win by a stroke, ahead of Pat Burke of the United States, with a 1-over 72 for a 7-under total of 277.

Faldo was 15-under par and six shots clear of the field, with the \$62,000 first-place money in the bag when the drama came on the 12th green on the final round at the Bali Golf and Country Club course.

It was only then that it was discovered that the British player had unknowingly erred on Saturday by removing a piece of coral from a bunker at the second hole during the third round, contravening the Rules of Golf.

The breach normally brings a two-shot penalty but, because the discovery only came on Sunday, the Australasian PGA Tour operations director, Trevor Herden, had no alternative but to disqualify him.

The error came to light when Craig Parry of Australia, Faldo's third-round playing partner, almost made the same mistake in a bunker at the seventh hole on Sunday but was stopped by his partner, Michael Campbell of New Zealand. Parry played on but, worried, called for Herden on the ninth, asked about the rule and told him Faldo had removed a stone on Saturday. Herden approached Faldo, who confirmed it.

"Unfortunately, because it was yesterday, he'd signed for an incorrect score which means instant disqualification and there is no way Nick can get out of that," said Herden.

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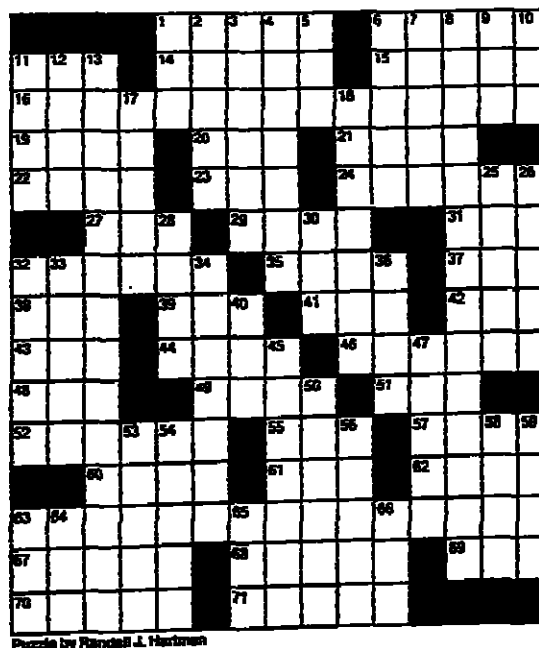
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pooch
12 Coalition
13 Mao's domain
17 Lachrymose
18 Aperture
25 Spring nymph

26 Lone Ranger's
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28 Highway's State
29 Canal site
30 Gardner's
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Alta. and Mar.

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